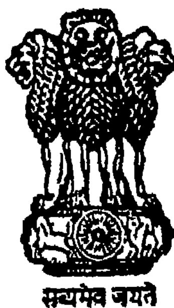
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XLII

(October 1929 - February 1930)





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PREFACE

The period covered in this volume (October 16, 1929 to February 28, 1930) represents a major turning point in the struggle for freedom, with Gandhiji firmly resuming active leadership of the movement after a lapse of nearly eight years and identifying himself with the demand of the radical school, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, for complete independence as the country's goal. Gandhiji had opposed the demand when it was first voiced at the Madras session of the National Congress in December 1927 and opposed it again the following year at the Calcutta session, arguing that the word "swaraj" possessed a richer and more tangible connotation for the masses and included independence. But having been a party to the compromise resolution at the Calcutta Congress giving to the British Government a year's time within which to concede a Dominion Status constitution as envisaged in the Motilal Nehru Report of 1928, Gandhiji himself sponsored at the Lahore session in December 1929 a resolution proclaiming complete independence as the country's immediate goal and authorizing the launching of a civil disobedience movement to achieve it. "Organizations like men . . . must have a sense of honour and fulfil their promises", he said explaining his stand to English friends (pp. 424-5). "The nation wants to feel its power more even than to have independence. Possession of such power *is* independence" (p. 426).

Gandhiji had been touring the U.P. since about the middle of September, and this volume carries detailed accounts of the tour written by Gandhiji himself which are fine specimens of his narrative style and his manner of stressing the educative purpose of the tours. In the Westernized atmosphere of luxury at Mussoorie he felt "like a fish out of water" and at the civic meeting "he pointedly reminded the citizens of their duty towards the poor people" (p. 71). He seems to have felt uncomfortable in the Aligarh University meeting too, where, though he was made an honorary member of the University Union and there was, otherwise, no want of enthusiasm, khadi "was practically conspicuous by its absence among the students" and no purse was presented for *Daridranarayana* (pp. 153-4). At Mathura also, the "absence in this celebrated holy place of Hinduism of anything to remind one of the nativity of Krishna, the first among the cowherds of the world . . . preyed upon his mind" and he "emptied his soul

before the meeting on behalf of the cow" (p. 154), for to Gandhiji the cow was our mother and the bullock our brother (p. 80).

These disappointments, however, were more than made up for by his pleasant discovery during the tour that some of the young talukdars and zamindars in the province were shedding their fear and actively supporting the national cause. The Raja Saheb of Kalakankar and his family were habitual khadi-wearers and invited Gandhiji to light a bonfire of foreign garments drawn from their wardrobes. At the public meeting he expressed the hope that the rich would act as trustees of the people, and said: "The dream I want to realize is not spoliation of the property of private owners but to restrict its enjoyment so as to avoid . . . the hideously ugly contrast that exists today between the lives and surroundings of the rich and the poor" (p. 201).

But though Gandhiji complimented the zamindars and talukdars on their patriotic zeal, he was not fully satisfied with the change in their lives. There was, he said, still a wide gulf between them and the ryots and "a great deal of patronizing and self-satisfaction over the little that has been done" (p. 239). He wanted "a definite recognition on the part of the moneyed class that the ryot possesses the same soul that they do and that their wealth gives them no superiority over the poor" (p. 239). And he concluded with the warning: "There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities . . . on the one hand, and on the other the impending chaos into which . . . awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country . . . " (p. 240). Writing in another context, Gandhiji referred to "the presence in our midst of the indigenous interests that have sprung up from British rule . . . All these do not always realize that they are living on the blood of the masses, and when they do, they become as callous as the British principals whose tools and agents they are" (p. 452).

During the visit to Meerut, Gandhiji had a one and a half hours' holiday with the undertrial prisoners of the so-called Meerut Conspiracy Case. With his humour delightfully turned against himself, he kept the prisoners laughing all through the visit and seems to have enjoyed the meeting so much that "he was loath to part with them" (p. 106).

The tour also took Gandhiji to Hardwar where he was evidently repelled by the prevailing insanitation, both physical and moral, and confessed, "In spite of my innate love of Hinduism, in spite of my conservatism that ever seeks to respect and justify ancient institutions, these holy places have few man-made attractions for me" (p. 75).

On October 31, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, issued an official statement in which he declared on behalf of the British Government that in their judgement "it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status" (*vide* Appendix I), and announced the British Government's intention to call a Round Table Conference in London to discuss a new constitution for India. Gandhiji issued with leaders of other parties a joint statement which cautiously welcomed the Viceroy's announcement, assuming that "the Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India" (p. 81). A specific assurance on this point was sought by Gandhiji from the Viceroy at their meeting on December 23, but this the latter was unable to give. The Congress thereupon proceeded at Lahore to act upon its previous year's ultimatum and passed a resolution, on the last day of the year, proclaiming *purna* swaraj, complete independence, as the country's goal.

But Gandhiji does not seem to have reconciled himself to this radical step without an inner struggle. Replying earlier to cables from English friends advising him to reciprocate the effort of the Labour Government to help India, he had said he was "dying for co-operation. My non-co-operation is a token of my earnest longing for real heart co-operation in the place of co-operation falsely so called. . . . I can wait for the Dominion Status constitution, if I can get the real Dominion Status in action . . . " (p. 150). He recognized, however, that India had not developed sufficient strength to assert her right and added: "I have patience enough to wait. I can work and live for no other goal" (p. 151). Gandhiji displayed the same sense of realism in opposing Subhas Bose's suggestion of a "parallel government": "You cannot establish freedom by the mere passing of a resolution. You will establish freedom not by words but by deeds" (p. 356).

This approach, however, did not appeal to the younger nationalists and Jawaharlal Nehru, President-elect of the Congress, felt extremely unhappy after signing the All-Parties Leaders' Statement at Gandhiji's persuasion (*vide* Appendix II). Replying to his letter, Gandhiji said: "I have always honoured your resistance. . . . Resist me always when my suggestion does not appeal to your head or heart. I shall not love you the less for that resistance", but added, "As an executive officer now and President for the coming year . . . your signature was logical, wise and otherwise correct" (p. 96).

The Congress resolution provoked a storm of criticism both in India and England and Gandhiji made an offer to the Viceroy that he would be satisfied for the time being with immediate relief in terms of the famous eleven points which he enumerated in a *Young India* article, "Clearing the Issue", and which he described as the "very simple but vital needs of India" (p. 434). The eleven points—the fourth of which was abolition of the salt tax—served to give "a body in part to the elusive word independence", as he explained in another article. "Even an Independence Constitution is not an end in itself. . . . Independence means at least those eleven points, if it means anything at all to the masses, the man in the street. . . . It means the consciousness in the average villager that he is the maker of his own destiny, he is his own legislator through his chosen representatives" (p. 469).

The cumulative result of the continuing frustration of nationalist aspirations and deepening poverty was a rapid spread of the spirit of violence in the country and the consequent growth of the terrorist party. Gandhiji intuitively sensed at the Lahore Congress the mounting impatience of nationalist India and, while he feared and disapproved of terrorist violence (pp. 361-4 and 423) he realized, as he told C. F. Andrews, that "the spirit of violence must be dealt with by non-violent *action* if the situation is to be at all saved". He added: "I have made up my mind to run the boldest risks" (p. 444). While admitting that "there are undoubtedly forces of violence to be seen on the surface which I may not be able to control", he hoped that "true non-violence which I advocate might yet be able to circumvent and rise superior even to these forces . . . " (p. 421). The contemplated civil disobedience campaign was thus intended both to combat the organized violence of British rule and to "save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime" (p. 423). Appealing to the violent revolutionary to suspend his activity, he confessed, "I dread him more than I dread Lord Irwin's wrath" (p. 435). Non-violence, he explained in another context, did not amount to cowardice. "Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. . . . Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralizing, cowardice always is" (p. 73).

For a long time, however, Gandhiji was not clear about the form of the campaign. He told Jawaharlal Nehru that "in the present state of the Congress, no civil disobedience can be or should be offered in its name and that it should be offered by me alone or jointly with a few companions . . ." (p. 382). He wanted to dis-

cover a formula which would enable him to avoid having to suspend the campaign because of any popular violence as he had done in 1922 after the incidents in Chauri Chaura. He retired to the seclusion of the Sabarmati Ashram for a while to evolve a suitable plan of action. "It is absolutely necessary for the person controlling such a movement," he told the correspondent of *The Daily Express*, "to keep himself in tune with the voice of his followers, and therefore he must be as impervious to outside influences as he has to be sensitive to every little thing that goes on within" (p. 420). It was his own limitations, he added, which made it impossible for him to penetrate the surrounding darkness (p. 421). While Gandhiji thus sought the guidance of the inner voice, he was fully aware of the need for the utmost vigilance in trusting to it. "How can one know," he asked, "when the inner voice is speaking and when one or more or all of the six inner enemies are speaking?" (p. 235). "But the shining cover that overlays the truth", he told C. F. Andrews, "is thinning day by day and will presently break" (p. 444). The solution was at last provided by the Congress Working Committee resolution of February 15, 1930, which authorized Gandhiji and those of his co-workers who believed in non-violence as an article of faith for achieving swaraj, to start civil disobedience, and called upon all Congressmen to extend full co-operation to the civil resisters. The resolution, said Gandhiji, gave him "my charter of freedom" binding him "in the tightest chains. It is the formula of which I have been in search these long and weary months" (p. 480). The speech at the prayer meeting on February 15 was a serious call to suffering, to the conversion of the Ashram into a "lamp of sacrifice" (pp. 477-8). In a *Young India* article he declared his intention "to start the movement only through the inmates of the Ashram and those who have submitted to its discipline and assimilated the spirit of its methods" (p. 497).

Gandhiji had the rare gift of being able to understand and sympathize with completely opposite points of view sincerely held. If he could honour Jawaharlal Nehru for his resistance, he also prized his bond with the poet Rabindranath Tagore and the Liberal leader V. S. Srinivasa Sastri both of whom were outspoken critics of some of Gandhiji's policies. The differences between him and Tagore had occasionally assumed the form of public controversies which seem to have caused him much pain (*vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 287-91 and Vol. XXVIII, pp. 425-30). He was, therefore, very pleased to report to C. F. Andrews: "Gurudev passed a delightful two hours with me. . . . We came nearer each other this time

and I was so thankful" (p. 444). The differences with Srinivasa Sastri persisted, but Gandhiji could fully appreciate the latter's point of view, which had been in fact his own for many years. "I wish you had written the letter you intended to", he wrote to Sastri. "You know how I prize your opinion. It would give me immense relief to be able to adopt your mode of thought" (p. 445).

Gandhiji's greatest service in the field of social reform, besides his campaign for the eradication of untouchability, was the revolutionary change that he effected in the traditional attitude towards women. "I do not need to be a girl to be wild over man's atrocities towards woman. . . . I am uncompromising in the matter of woman's rights", he said, commenting on a letter from Raihana Tyabji requesting him to support the cause of women's rights of inheritance (p. 4). But he blamed women, too, for the existing state of affairs. The root of the evil, he said, lay not in legal inequalities but in "man's greed of power and fame and deeper still in mutual lust" (p. 5). In fighting for their freedom, however, Gandhiji wanted the women of India not to imitate the manner of the West but to apply "methods suited to the Indian genius and Indian environment." It is from Sita and Draupadi, Savitri and Damayanti that women today can derive strength and guidance for heroic conduct, the inner control which, while bringing the ideal into current practice, will conserve the best and reject the base (p. 6). The innocence which he wanted women to cultivate was the purity of Shuka (p. 254), not the prudery of affected modesty. To another correspondent who had sought his advice as to how to abolish distinctions of high and low, Gandhiji wrote: ". . . there can be no greater propaganda than one's own conduct. What one wants others to do, one should do oneself" (p. 78).

History based on the imperfect events of the passing hour holds less of truth and value for Gandhiji than a poem like the *Mahabharata* which is based on timeless and imperishable inner experience. Janaka's example continues to be relevant today; it is no mere "brinjal in a book", but a "fresh brinjal to be plucked and eaten, as the ones growing in our field" (p. 228). Advising students on the necessity of making congregational prayers compulsory, Gandhiji said: "Restraint self-imposed is no compulsion. . . . the man who binds himself to rules and restraints releases himself. . . . If we will be men walking with our heads erect and not walking on all fours, let us understand and put ourselves under voluntary discipline and restraint" (p. 413).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Varient spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents and M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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CONTENTS

1. *STATEMENT ON AHMEDABAD LABOUR DISPUTE*[1]

DEHRADUN,
October 16, 1929

Shethshri Mangaldas has sent me for my comments a copy of the statement presented to the *Sarpanch*. I have gone through it.

I think that a number of points made in it are improper.

According to my understanding, the insistence that the cut in wages effected in 1923 was binding for all time had been given up. Moreover, even in his statement, Sheth Mangaldas does not insist that the labourers cannot demand, after the cut of 1923, that the same be abrogated and hence, though he has written at length about it, there is no propriety in my giving a reply to it. As an arbitrator, he gave no award in 1923. This much is clear that for whatever happened in 1923 he is not to blame, but if there is anyone to be blamed it is the Mill-owners' Association.

According to me there is truly speaking only one point before the *Sarpanch* for decision: Whether the wages which the labourers receive today are less than their expenditure in the light of the prices of foodgrains, etc., obtaining today and if they are less, whether at least in order to make up the deficit their wages should be increased or not.

The evidence given from the side of the labourers on this point clearly proves that the total of all their earnings is less than the necessary expense which they incur every month. In Sheth Mangaldas's statement I have not been able to see any rebuttal of this submission. Therefore there is not much that I can add to what I have said in my verdict[2]. But I should draw the *Sarpanch's* attention to one thing. The cut in wages is a question of life and death to the labourers. To the mills it was and is one of effecting a cut and maintaining it with a view to increasing their reduced profits. I hold that, as long as the mills make some profit, one cannot effect any cut in the living wage of the labourers. Prior to the cut, this living wage was not a living wage at

[1] Between the Mill-owners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union; Mangaldas Girdhardas and Gandhiji acted as arbitrators and K. M. Jhaveri as the Umpire. For Gandhiji's comments on the award, *vide* "An Important Award", 12-12-1929.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 359-63.

all. It is however true that the prices of foodgrains today are lower than those prevailing in the year 1923. Nevertheless it is a sad and surprising thing that the evidence put before the arbitrator proves that the expense incurred by the labourers today on foodgrains at those lower prices is higher than their wages. The figures presented by the labourers have been supported in two ways. An examination of the wages received and the calculation therefrom of the total savings and of the figures emerging from two Government enquiries makes it clear that the Government reports also support the statement of expenditure presented on behalf of the labourers.

I feel that both the mill-owners and Sheth Mangaldas have failed to understand the present condition of the labourers. It is to be hoped that the *Sarpanch* will appreciate that position.

If the *Sarpanch* has nothing specific to know from me, I have nothing more to say.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14979

2. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

October 16, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letters. For some time now I have not been able to write at all. I got the article about Kaki[1] only today. It is well written. Let the critics say what they will.[2]

The *Gita* proofs sent to Gorakhpur have not yet reached here. I don't know when I shall get them. At Mussoorie[3] I shall have a good opportunity of disposing of them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11457

[1] D. B. Kalelkar's wife; the article, "Death of a Virtuous Woman", an obituary by Mahadev Desai, was published in *Navajivan*, 13-10-1929.

[2] *Vide* "Has *Navajivan* Become Insipid", 3-11-1929.

[3] Gandhiji was in Mussoorie from October 17 to October 24, 1929.

3. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

DEHRADUN,
October 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is no letter from you. I got, however, Jamnalalji's letter written from the Ashram and that means the mail from the Ashram has been received here. I read in it about Umiya's[1] betrothal. May both be happy. I send with this Chi. Shankerlal's letter, which you should hand over to Umiya. Read it and pass it on to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5460

4. IS IT VILLAGE UPLIFT?

Some time ago prominent notice was taken in the public press of Mr. F. L. Brayne's work for the uplift of the villagers in the Gurgaon district in the Punjab. Mr. Brayne was in charge of that district. These notices attracted my attention, and I felt that if the account given by Mr. Brayne was a true picture of the progress made in Gurgaon, it was worthy of close study and imitation. I therefore requested Lalaji's Society[2] to undertake local inspection of the actual work done. Lala Deshraj, a graduate member of the Society, was deputed for the work. He has prepared an exhaustive report of his inspection. I reproduce it[3] with but slight omissions. It will repay perusal. Mr. Brayne has procured cautiously worded certificates of his work from the Viceroy as also the Governor of the Punjab. But I would not anticipate Lala Deshraj. My remarks I reserve till the report is fully published.[4] The

[1] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's daughter

[2] Servants of the People Society

[3] Not reproduced here

[4] *Vide* "Village Improvement", 14-11-1929.

reader will have to wait for another issue of *Young India* to see the conclusion of the report.

Young India, 17-10-1929

5. *POSITION OF WOMEN*

A fair friend[1], who has hitherto successfully resisted the matrimonial temptation, writes:

> There was a women's conference yesterday at the Malabari Hall at which many sound speeches were made, and many resolutions passed. The question of the evening was the Sarda Bill. We are so glad you uphold the age of 18 for girls. Another important resolution dealt with the laws of inheritance. What a help it would be if you wrote a strong article on this subject in *Navajivan* and *Young India*! Why should women have either to beg or to fight in order to win back their birthright? It is strange—and also tragically comic—to hear man born of woman talk loftily of 'the weaker sex' and nobly promising 'to give' us our due! What is this nonsense about 'giving'? Where is the 'nobility' and 'chivalry' in restoring to people that which has been unlawfully wrested from them by those having brute power in their hands? Wherein are women less important than men? Why should their share of inheritance be less than that of men? Why should it not be equal? We were discussing this very heatedly with some people a couple of days ago. A lady said, "We don't need any change in the law. We are quite content. After all, it is but fair that the son, who carries on the name and family traditions, should have the greater share. He is the mainstay of the family. . . ." We said, "And what about the girl?" "Oh", intervened a strapping young man who was there, "the other fellow will look after *her*!" There you are. The 'other fellow'! Always the other fellow! The other fellow is an absolute nuisance! *Why* should there be another fellow? Why should it be taken for granted that there *will* be another fellow? They talk as though a girl were a bale of goods to be tolerated in the parental house until 'the other fellow' comes round, and then coolly handed over to him with a sigh of relief. . . . Really wouldn't you be wild if *you* were a girl?

I do not need to be a girl to be wild over man's atrocities towards woman. I count the law of inheritance among the least in the list. The Sarda Bill deals with an evil far greater than the one which the law of inheritance connotes. But I am uncompromising in the matter of woman's rights. In my opinion she

[1] Raihana Tyabji; *vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 533-4.

should labour under no legal disability not suffered by man. I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality. As women begin to realize their strength, as they must in proportion to the education they receive, they will naturally resent the glaring inequalities to which they are subjected.

But to remove legal inequalities will be a mere palliative. The root of the evil lies much deeper than most people realize. It lies in man's greed of power and fame and deeper still in mutual lust. Man has always desired power. Ownership of property gives this power. Man hankers also after posthumous fame based on power. This cannot be had, if property is progressively cut up in pieces as it must be if all the posterity become equal co-sharers. Hence the descent of property for the most part on the eldest male issue. Most women are married. And they are co-sharers, in spite of the law being against them, in their husbands' power and privileges. They delight in being ladies this and what not, simply for the fact of being the wives of particular lords. Though therefore they may vote for radical reform in academic discussions over inequalities, when it comes to acting up to their vote, they will be found to be unwilling to part with the privileges.

Whilst therefore I would always advocate the repeal of all legal disqualifications, I should have the enlightened women of India to deal with the root cause. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering, and her advent to public life should therefore result in purifying it, in restraining unbridled ambition and accumulation of property. Let them know that millions of men have no property to transmit to posterity. Let us learn from them that it is better for the few to have no ancestral property at all. The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character and educational facilities. Parents should seek to make their sons and daughters self-reliant, well able to earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of the brow. The upbringing of minor children will then naturally devolve upon the major descendants. Much of the present imbecility of the children of the wealthy will go, if the latter could but substitute the worthy ambition of educating their children to become independent for the unworthy ambition of making them slaves of ancestral property, which kills enterprise and feeds the passions which accompany idleness and luxury. The privilege of the awakened women should be to spot and eradicate age-long evils.

That mutual lust too has played an important part in bringing about the disqualifications of the fair sex hardly needs any demonstration. Woman has circumvented man in a variety of

ways in her unconsciously subtle ways, as man has vainly and equally unconsciously struggled to thwart woman in gaining ascendancy over him. The result is a stalemate. Thus viewed, it is a serious problem the enlightened daughters of Bharat Mata are called upon to solve. They may not ape the manner of the West which may be suited to its environment. They must apply methods suited to the Indian genius and Indian environment. Theirs must be the strong, controlling, purifying, steadying hand, conserving what is best in our culture and unhesitatingly rejecting what is base and degrading. This is the work of Sitas, Draupadis, Savitris and Damayantis, not of amazons and prudes.

Young India, 17-10-1929

6. *MY SILENCE*

I had hoped that by this time my correspondents had realized that, if I was silent on any question that agitated the country, the silence was maintained in its interest or on similar valid grounds, and that therefore they would not deluge me with inquiries and protests regarding my deliberate silence over the self-immolation of Jatindranath Das[1] and the question of hunger-strikers generally. At Gorakhpur in one of the addresses received by me the question was directly put to me, and I was in courtesy bound to answer it. My answer was that the silence was observed entirely in the national interest. I had felt that an expression of my opinion was likely to do more harm than good to the cause for which brave Jatindra fasted unto death. There are occasions when silence is wisdom. This I hold to be such an occasion. I may inform the reader that there are very many important questions affecting the nation on which, though I hold strong and decided views, I maintain absolute silence, for I believe that it often becomes the duty of every public man to be silent even at the risk of incurring unpopularity and even a much worse penalty, as it undoubtedly becomes his duty to speak out his mind when the occasion requires it, though it may be at the cost of his life. So far as the philosophy of hunger-strikes is concerned, I have given the fullest expression to my general views in these pages more

[1] A political worker who, while being tried in the Lahore Conspiracy case, went on fast in the Lahore jail as a protest against the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian prisoners. He died on September 13, 1929, the sixty-fourth day of his fast.

often than once. It is therefore unnecessary for me to expound them any further. I regret that I can give my numerous correspondents no further satisfaction.[1] I may however give them this assurance that my silence has no connection whatsoever with Jatin's crime or innocence. For I hold that even a criminal is entitled to decent treatment and decent food. I also hold that an under-trial prisoner must be presumed at least by the public to be innocent, and for that matter what I have heard about Jatindranath Das is all in praise of him, and I have been assured that he was no more capable of doing or contemplating violence than I should be myself.

Young India, 17-10-1929

7. *SYLLABUS IN INDIAN ECONOMICS*

Our economics syllabus is not concerned with world economics, but with Indian economics. We know from experience that the economics of each country varies in some ways from the economics of other countries. Looked at from the point of view of the towns and the villages, the difference may be more pronounced. The following syllabus is chalked out on the assumption that the civilization of India is dependent on the condition of the villages and their full growth.

First Term

Teachers should take the pupils with them and visit some village and, there, get the pupils collect facts relating to the economy of the village and thus give them a practical lesson in economics; that is, make them ascertain its population, the number of men, women, boys and girls living in it and prepare statistical tables; then compile a statement of the occupations, the number of people employed in the various occupations, and the income accruing from them. They should also measure the area within its boundaries, calculate the per capita area of land, find out what crops are raised on the land, how it is manured, what kind of farm implements are used, what the expenditure on agriculture is and how much the produce. Then they should get them to collect figures for the produce and expenditure during the past ten years and from that deduce whether agriculture is a profitable occupation or a losing concern. Let them find out the number of live-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 18-10-1929.

stock, the expenditure on them, the amount of milk, etc., their feed, availability of a stud bull in the village, the utility of calves, the extent of pasture land, and if such land is not available whether there is enough space for the cattle for movement and fresh air. Whether the farmer keeps accounts, and if so, what manner of accounts he maintains should be inspected. How much leisure the farmers get and how they spend it should also be ascertained. After this extensive observation and investigation the pupils should draw their own conclusions and give suggestions for the improvement of the village. The pupils' reports should be written in ink neatly and in a good hand.

SECOND TERM

All the information gathered by various groups of such students should be collated, the results of their findings should be compared with those of other agricultural countries and then the differences between India and those other agricultural countries should be analysed.

THIRD TERM

The results of these independent investigations should be compared with the economic data taught in India and any additions or deletions that are necessary should be made and through such practical training alone should the student learn the economics of India.

NOTE: If every year new students undertake the study of economics according to the aforesaid syllabus, it will entail no harm. On the other hand, such work may lead to new conclusions or may progressively confirm the accepted theories. There should be no need to go to a village which has already been studied and surveyed.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-10-1929

8. *THE DUTY OF A VOLUNTEER*

As I am getting to know the volunteers during my tour of the U.P. I find that they badly need training. The volunteers' ideals are pure, they are not lacking in love but the energy which should spring from idealism and love is missing for want of training. They have very little organizing capacity. Because of this, rather than any help forthcoming often new difficulties crop up. It is therefore essential to train them. They may well be volunteers at heart but nothing much will be achieved by that. Even for the easiest of jobs, some training is required. Even the work of a scavenger cannot be performed without training. How can the work of a volunteer succeed without it?

The volunteer is the soldier of the nation. Ultimately we hope to win swaraj through him. The members of a national organization should possess great qualities. The volunteers

1. should be capable of maintaining order in large gatherings;
2. should know the national language;
3. should be able to communicate their thoughts to other volunteers through signals;
4. should be able to stop noise;
5. should be able to clear a way through a mass of people;
6. should be able to march to drum-beat;
7. should be able to render first aid in case of injury;
8. should be able to put up with people's abuses, acrimony, assault, taunts, etc.;
9. should be able to endure Government's punishment, such as imprisonment, etc.;
10. should possess the qualities of patience, truthfulness, firmness, bravery, ahimsa and the like.

Besides, in my view, the volunteers should always wear khadi. They should also spin regularly by way of *yajna*.

In order to impart this kind of training every province should have volunteer training centres as also textbooks suitable to our country.

All the strength necessary in a 'violent' soldier is essential for a non-violent soldier also—except the violence part of it. But

compared to the violent soldier, the non-violent soldier requires many more qualities. The readers must be aware of them.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-10-1929

9. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

MUSSOORIE,
October 17, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI[1],

I have your letter. I would not advise you to go to Almora just now. For some time the conditions there have been unsettled. It is also a question whether Prabhudas[2] should be sent there. We shall consider later whether you can go. If you wish to go to some hill station, it may of course be possible to make arrangements elsewhere. Or, it may be possible to put you up with Mathuradas in Almora. But, if you keep well at Vijapur, what is the advantage of going to a hill station? At a hill station it will be very cold now. Here in Mussoorie I am just now sitting wrapped in blankets.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9267

10. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have both your letters.

I feel worried about your health. See that your body becomes as strong as steel.

There is no rule which forbids us from giving anything at all to Jagjivandas. We certainly cannot let him remain in debt. However, the Kathiawar Antyaja Committee should pay the balance of Rs. 400. I have asked Jagjivandas to write to the Committee again.

[1] An inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram; widowed daughter-in-law of Navalram Pandya, a well-known litterateur of Gujarat

[2] Chhaganlal Gandhi's son

I have no objection to the decision to fix Umiya's marriage for December 4. I shall be there on that date.

I understand about Ayodhyaprasad Mathur. Has he stayed on there?

Yes, give the authority to sign cheques to Panditji and Ramniklal. Also consider why Imamsaheb should not be included. Do you intend to give joint authority to Panditji and Ramniklal? If so, why? I see no need for joint authority. Also consider why this authority should not be given to Narandas. My point is that this responsibility should be given to a member of the Managing Committee who is doing office work. If Narandas is not such a member, it is a different matter. All this is for you to think over. In any case, joint signatures, I am sure, will not look right.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Kanti[1] expressed a strong wish to accompany me as far as Mussoorie and so I have let him. He will leave tomorrow or the day after.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5461

11. *MESSAGE TO "THE INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL"*[2]

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR RAGHAVAN,

I have your letter. Here is my message:

"Labour must learn to help itself and to be self-reliant."

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. VIJIARAGHAVAN
MANAGER, "THE INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL"
SITABULDI, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15205

[1] Harilal Gandhi's son
[2] Official organ of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union

12. LETTER TO B. S. GOPALA ROW

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR GOPALA ROW[1],

I have your letter. I admire your zeal and confidence but I miss the scientific discussion that should back all confidence and zeal if they are to be fruitful. Do you not see that any number of certificates[2] are utterly useless for me in the teeth of overwhelming experience to the contrary? Supposing there is a man who does not feel the glow of a raging fire before him, do you suppose that the testimony of a thousand people who may feel the glow will convince him contrary to his own experience? And you may not also realize that all those whose names you mention have not been as thorough as you fancy in the description of foods they have taken, that is to say, if they have added milk to the raw food or cooked chapatis; it alters the state of the whole complexion of the whole experiment and vitiates it. Several writers tell me they eat unfired food and in the same breath inform me they occasionally take cooked rice, cooked vegetables and cooked chapatis and invariably take curds or milk. My experiment among the 44 was carried on without milk and without any cooked food and the vast majority failed hopelessly. There are three or four persisting in the face of odds. I cannot say what will happen to them in the end.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. S. GOPALA ROW
ADVOCATE, RAJAHMUNDRY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15639

[1] An advocate who had opened a Hydro-Chromopathic and Nature-cure Academy at Rajahmundry; for his suggestions on unfired food and Gandhiji's comments, *vide* Vol. XLI.

[2] The addressee had enclosed a list of nine persons cured by him.

13. LETTER TO C. C. DAS

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your note. I had a very happy time under your hospitable roof[1]. I do hope that the fatigue of those days has left no trace upon your health now and I hope too that domestic peace prevails in the home now. Please ask Mrs. Das to write to me. She may do so in English or Hindi just as it pleases her.

Yours sincerely,

MR. C. C. DAS
VILLA MAYA
GORAKHPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15643

14. LETTER TO P. RANGANADAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had hoped to deal with your matter much earlier but the papers you gave me were left buried in an unassorted heap. I have now come across those papers and you will find reference in the ensuing number of *Young India*.[2] The reason for writing this letter is only to know what you are doing now and whether the Board took any further action.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. RANGANADAN
SRI RAMANA BHAVANAM
ARNI (N. ARCOT DT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15678

[1] From October 4 to October 7

[2] *Vide* "Elected Boards", 24-10-1929. It gives the actual name of the addressee as P. Ranganatha Ayyar.

15. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR C.R.,

There was one question which I forgot to deal with when I wrote to you. That was regarding the late Rev. Wizia[1]. I cannot deal with the matter satisfactorily because I am wholly against hunger-strikes for matters such as Wizia and Jatin died for. Any expression of such opinion would be distorted and misused by the Government. I therefore feel that my silence is more serviceable than my criticism. Do you not agree with my judgment of the hunger-strikes and with my consequent silence?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
RAJAPALAYAM (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 15683

16. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

I have your letter. I was wondering why you had not written for so long. It does not matter whether I reply at once or not. I would like to have a weekly budget from you. I never expected the prohibition work to go faster than it is. Nevertheless regular plodding is bound to bear fruit. I am glad *Vimochanam*[2] is doing so well. You must send me a copy. I am glad too that you and Lalita are together and flourishing. Many happy returns

[1] A Buddhist monk of Burma who, imprisoned for sedition, undertook a hunger-strike demanding better treatment and the right to wear yellow robes on special days. He died on September 19, 1929.

[2] A Tamil journal

of the day to the year-old baby Krishnamurti. Ba and I send our joint blessings. I hope Seshan is not over-worrying you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBBIAH
C/O SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
RAJAPALAYAM (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15684

17. LETTER TO KATESHWAR PRASAD PANDAY

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I send you herewith the letter of Maulvi Mohamed Adil Abbasi. Please return the letter with whatever you might have to offer.

Encl. 1

Yours sincerely,

PT. KATESHWAR PRASAD
BASTI (U.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15685

18. LETTER TO MOHAMED ADIL ABBASI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I should be sorry to find the facts to be as you have stated them. I hope that there is some misunderstanding. I am forwarding your letter to Pt. Kateshwar Prasad for reply. I quite agree with you that in every little matter the utmost delicacy is necessary while both the communities' feelings are tender and likely to be hurt on the slightest pretext.

Yours sincerely,

MAULVI MOHAMED ADIL ABBASI
BASTI (U.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15686

[1] Wherein the addressee had complained that during Gandhiji's visit to Basti, the Urdu address was printed a day later than the Hindi address.

19. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I have your letter[1] but I do not think that I need to deal with it now as you must have received my previous letter. If you have not please tell me. Any way the purport of my previous letter was that I could not give you any monetary help. My advice to you was to gain much more practical experience than you had.

Yours sincerely,

P. G. MATHEW, ESQ.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15687

20. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

October 18, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter and I had one from Jamshedji[2] also. I have therefore telegraphed to him saying that you could not usefully serve on his Committee[3] and that therefore you should be excused. His own previous letter to me said that you had willingly joined his Committee and that you had in no way compromised yourself. I therefore told him that if that was so and if you wanted to remain on his Committee I would waive my objection. But I told him that before I did so, I would have to wait for your letter of confirmation. Your letter has crossed mine to him. There is therefore now no question of your having to serve on the Committee or rather assisting the Committee without being put on it. I hope that you are now once more breathing free. I would like

[1] In which the addressee, who was staying at Sabarmati Ashram, had requested Gandhiji to finance a project which needed an initial outlay of a few thousand rupees

[2] Jamshed N. R. Mehta, a public worker of Sind and for a long time Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi

[3] The People's Flood Relief Committee of Sind of which Malkani was the Secretary

you henceforth to harden yourself and never accept a charge or a burden unless you feel absolutely sure of what you are doing. Very often the best service that we can render friends is to disappoint them and even displease them if what they say does not commend itself to the inner being. It is better even to risk the loss of friends than to compromise oneself and run the greater risk of being rendered unfit for service.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

PROF. MALKANI
CONGRESS OFFICE
HYDERABAD SIND

From a photostat: G.N. 896

21. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today I have not yet received the mail sent by you. I see that Panditji, too, worries about your health. Bring it round soon.

I cannot write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5462

22. *LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR BHRRR[1],

It was a delight to receive your letter after so many days and a cheery letter at that. I really did not need your letter to know that I had your good wishes. From this distance I could listen to the tick in your heart—much truer than the written word. Raihana told me all about your operation. But I got her letter long after everything was over and it is such an exhilarating thing to

[1] This was a form of greetings used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

get bad news when that news has lost all its force. One is then in a position to enjoy the unadulterated happiness of the thought that everything went on well in the end. I have no misgivings about Jawaharlal's conduct in the chair[1].

Yours,
BHRRR

SJT. ABBAS TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9568

23. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

Do you know the beautiful story of Nachiketa in the Upanishads? His father was a miser. He once gave as a donation a cow that was a burden to him. Nachiketa gently asked his father why he had done so and what he expected to gain by such a donation. The father cursed N. who took it in good part [and] wrested from Yamaraj[2] a change of heart for the father. Love melts mountains. Not to speak to father when you have something against him will be sin. Most probably he has good reasons for his action but supposing he is in error, he will retrace his steps the earliest when he is warned by loved ones. Therefore the sooner you speak to father the better. Only you should have no anger in you. I am sure he will take it all in good part. You should wean him too from speculation. He needs to hoard wealth for nobody now. Even you in spite of your frail body can earn your way. God has given you a voice that would any day support you. And after all God alone is responsible for our maintenance if we would but trust Him.

I have a cheery letter from father.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9612

[1] That is, as President of the Congress
[2] God of Death

24. LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR SRINIVASAN,

I thank you for your letter and the enclosures. You are quite right in being indifferent about *After Mother India.* However, if I get some leisure I shall go through the chapters you have sent and if I find anything that I can usefully deal with I shall do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

K. SRINIVASAN, ESQ.
FREE PRESS OF INDIA, LTD.
24 BRIDE LANE, LONDON E.C.4

From a photostat: S.N. 15827

25. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have given the Exhibition Committee[1] my idea about swadeshi. They will have an expert in their midst to guide them. But another difficulty has cropped up. This however is not of much moment. They want to charge for khaddar stalls just as they will for others. I feel that they ought not to charge for khaddar stalls. I am not aware of the practice at the other exhibitions, for instance, Madras. Was there a charge made at Cawnpore or Gauhati? I do not want to set up a new practice but we must not follow the Calcutta example either. Please let me have your views per return.

I am glad that Kumar Babu is with you. I do want to write to Hemprabhadevi as soon as I get a moment to spare.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1610

[1] Of the ensuing Congress session at Lahore

26. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

Look into this. It is not necessary to take any notice of it in *Young India.* We constantly receive such anonymous letters. I had a wire informing me that the *Gita* proofs had been despatched, but they have not yet arrived. The accompanying address was presented at the Kanya Gurukul[1]. It was sung in a very sweet tune. It is good that I retain my balance of mind. I hope that when I reach the Ashram you will be there.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11460

27. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today's mail has most probably arrived, but I have not been able to see it. The postal hours here are rather awkward, so that I cannot wait till I have looked into the mail which has been received. I return the letter received from Utkal. Kanti is leaving today for Ahmedabad. You may learn everything from him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5463

[1] On October 17

28. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have both your letters. I wrote briefly to Chhaganlal after receiving your first letter and had intended to write to you later. Meanwhile I got your second letter. I don't believe that you have taken any step in haste or anger. Having regard to what you believe about Joshi, your step is the right one. I only hope that you have made some mistake in judging him. Whatever that may be, I don't mind your keeping away for the present. We do get the benefit of your time. Do some office work only when you feel that Joshi sincerely desires your help. I have put on him the burden of creating that confidence in you.

May I take it that Purushottam's health has come round?

I do believe that Kasumba[1] is very unhappy. There is no doubt that Jaisukhlal has been much too strict in the matter. Now that she has gone to Ranavav, she will have some peace.

Do pay a visit to Rajkot.

You say that even the work regarding the plague was done in 1902. I still remember that the plague occurred in 1896. But in such matters we do sometimes forget the year or the date. Ask Khushalbhai and be more definite. I have mentioned the famine, the plague and the jubilee, all the three things. Do you think that all of them relate to the year 1902?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, pp. 55-6

[1] Jaisukhlal Gandhi's wife

29. ANARCHY OF THOUGHT

As a small example of unrestrained imagination, I publish the following letter[1]:

I receive many similar and even worse letters. Friends have sent me newspaper cuttings containing similar views. Where there is freedom of expression, such things are bound to happen. It only shows how incoherently one can think. This disorder exposes weakness of mind. Because of this weakness, the thought process works haphazardly instead of in an orderly manner and no correlation gets established. Many times this happens owing to anger also. The effects of anger resemble those produced by wine and opium. In the first fit, an angry man runs amuck. And then after the fit is past, the anger works like an opiate and dulls the rational faculties just like opium. Like opium, it consumes his mind. Infatuation, failure of memory and destruction of the mind are the successive symptoms of anger.

I find all this in the above letter according to my lights. The writer is a good man but in a fit of anger he has forgotten what has been written in *Navajivan.* All of a sudden he has become incapable of judging whether articles on social reforms can appear in a newspaper which exists only for swaraj.

The writer has narrowed down the very meaning of swaraj itself. The gentleman seems to believe that swaraj means the transfer of power from British hands to Indian hands. To my mind swaraj means regulated power in the hands of thirty crores of people. Where there is such rule, even a young girl will feel herself safe and, if the imagination of a poet is correct, animals like dogs, etc., who live among human beings will have a similar feeling of safety. We shall have to arrive at various basic decisions in regard to swaraj because under swaraj such decisions are not subject to officials in power but are based on truth and justice. I have succinctly called this kind of swaraj *Ramarajya.* As the Muslims and others

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had objected to Gandhiji's giving an account of his tours in *Navajivan* week after week, and writing on such topics as form of marriage, remarriage, marriages contracted by old men, the Gujarati dictionary, cow-protection work, and sometimes philosophical dissertations while he had turned a blind eye to the political condition in the country and the lawless rule obtaining in many Indian States,

may misinterpret it, I call it the rule of dharma too. Here there is room for a king, but a king means a protector, a guardian and a trustee, the best servant, the servant of servants. A king subsists on the leavings of his subjects; hence he should sleep after making his subjects sleep, eat after feeding them and live after enabling them to live. May such kings live for ever. If such kings do not arise in this age, I am certain that the very word 'king' will perish.

I am not concerned whether the ruler of Bhopal or other rulers possess any such qualities or not. I have declared what kind of ruler can survive in this age of public awakening.

My praise of the ruler of Bhopal was restrained.[1] I have not yet read the reports which have appeared in the newspapers on my praise of him and I am not even keen to read them. It is my experience that correct reports of my speeches or others' rarely appear in the newspapers. If I were to trust the newspaper reports about me, today I would have to believe that I had suffered from giddiness about three months ago. But my experience and that of my friends are quite different from the newspaper reports. Therefore I have warned all and do so again that only what is written in *Young India* and *Navajivan* should be believed as truth. I should not be held responsible for the rest. Even now I adhere literally to each word written in praise of the Nawab of Bhopal. The simplicity of his palace reminded me of the simplicity of Hazarat Omar. No one should interpret this to mean that the Bhopal palace was as simple as the shack of the great khalifa. It only meant that I did not find even a multi-storeyed building like that of an ordinary rich man where I had expected to see a gorgeous palace costing lakhs of rupees. The mansions of many of our millionaires in Ahmedabad are a hundred times superior to the palace of the Nawab Sahib. The philosophers and critics of the administration in the native States can be said to have reached the limit of intolerance, if they cannot bear even what little I have said on seeing the simplicity of the palace which I liked very much.

No one should consider me so innocent or good that I would give a certificate to a person who would buy khadi worth Rs. 200 to 400 from me. I can in most cases spot out wearers of khadi who deceive me or those who want to get some work done by me through buying khadi. Sometimes I prefer to be deceived. And sometimes I get deceived because of my foolishness or my imperfection, say what you will.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 374-5 and 500.

There is a lot of exaggeration in the charges that rulers kill their subjects by poisoning them, etc., etc. The writer has levelled these allegations without adducing any proof. Idle persons believe wild rumours. The correspondent has done something similar. If he has valid proof of a ruler having killed a subject by poisoning him, he should send it to me. Hearsay cannot be considered as proof. Let not anybody who reads this part of my article misunderstand me. It is not in the least my intention to say that no ruler ever kills people unjustly. I know of murders having been committed at the instance of the rulers. I am not unaware of the rot that has set in in the native States. Despite this I believe that they can be reformed and brought under control. This faith of mine is based on my faith in humanity. The native rulers are the product of the atmosphere prevailing in India. Their bodies are like ours, their physical needs are similar to ours and they have all the virtues and vices that we have. If we have trust in ourselves, we shall have trust in them also. The whole science of satyagraha is based on faith in all living beings. That faith may well prove wrong in the end. But those who have faith in satyagraha will never say that all the rulers are worthless or that the States' administrations can never be reformed. Another belief implied in satyagraha is also worth noting. Satyagrahis believe that sin does not have the strength to exist independently on its own. It must have the support of *punya*[1]. That is to say, evil subsists on the strength of good. If this is true, the native States, if they deserve such a fate, will perish on their own provided we do not help them in spite of knowing them to be evil. In this reasoning lies the origin of no-co-operation. Those who serve the native States even though they believe them to be bad are preserving them. Those also help them who consider them bad and want to destroy them with evil means. Wickedness has never been destroyed by wickedness. But persons like me who praise them for whatever good they find in them, though mistakenly but with a pure motive, thereby either reform them or secure the right to resort to satyagraha or non-co-operation.

The correspondent has criticized my silence on the martyrdom of Jatindra Das. I am not dealing with it here as it has been separately commented on in *Navajivan*[2].

[1] Merit accruing from virtuous action

[2] Dated October 20, 1929; for the English article, *vide* pp. 6-7.

Now there remains the writer's assurance. He writes: "You believe that the subjects of the native States are afraid of jails. But I can assure you that we are not afraid of jails. We are not afraid even of death." I must regretfully say that this assurance is of little or no value to me. I believe that among the subjects of the native States, the number of people who will be found ready to go to jail can be counted on one's fingers, and fewer still would be ready to court death. If the subjects were not cowardly and were prepared to undergo all the hardships of jail-going, etc., the atrocities committed in the States would have been impossible. The writer should bear in mind that in the native States, as in the British provinces, no one is prevented from courting jail. All the evil will stop only when the spirit of sacrifice and the power of self-immolation pervade the whole country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-10-1929

30. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

October 20, 1929

CHI. BHANSALI,

I have your letter. You should not worry about what food you asked to be served after the fast was over. You ought not to stop eating on that ground. At the end of a fast, most men are bound to feel the desire for all manner of dishes. If a person does not feel such a desire, it can be said of him that he no longer takes pleasure in sense objects. But that state can result only from God's grace. For earning that grace, the right means is not the giving up of food, but intensely earnest prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 171

31. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
395 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

DOCTOR RAJABALI'S SCHEME APPROVED. HOPE YOU WELL.

BAPU

Panchven Putra ko Bapu ke Ashirvad, p. 71

32. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

At long last today I got your letter giving an account of Kaki's passing away. I had been waiting for it. A person like you is bound to regret his failure to reassure Kaki fully in response to her request. But that is how we all act. How can one know what is going to happen? One can serve only according to one's capacity. How could you have known that Kaki was going to pass away in a single day? Considering how long Durga[1], during your continued absence from home, could nurse Kaki on her sick-bed, the reply you gave was a truthful one. If merely to reassure her you had said 'yes', the reply would have been considerate but untruthful. You should, therefore, give up vain regret and cherish sweet memories of Kaki. She had humbly acknowledged whatever services she was given and expressed her gratitude.

The *Gita* proofs seem to be still somewhere on the way.

Shall I take it that I have your promise for contributing three columns in *Young India* and *Navajivan*?

At present I am overwhelmed by disappointments. What need to write to you about them? Somehow I was impelled to mention the fact. Draw no inferences. "Immortal hope stands covered

[1] Addressee's wife

behind a cloud of disappointments"[1]: "Covered" is my improvement to suggest that my disappointments are always momentary. Why, then, should one draw any inferences? With empty hands we came, and so shall we depart. We shall have won the battle of life only if we depart in that manner. I have no time to write more. But you should not plead that excuse.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11461

33. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

MUSSOORIE,
Silence Day, October 21, 1929

SISTERS,

Mussoorie is one of those places where pleasure-seeking abounds. There is no *purdah* here. Wealthy ladies spend their time in dancing at parties, paint their lips, deck themselves in all sorts of ways and blindly imitate the West in a good many ways. Ours is a middle path. We do not wish to keep alive superstitions and *purdah* nor to encourage shamelessness and self-indulgence. This middle path is straight but difficult to follow. It is our aim to seek it and follow it steadily.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3706

34. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE,
Silence Day [October 21, 1929][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is nothing special today to write to you about. Read the letter to Raghunath Prasad and also Chhaganlal's which accompanies it.

Bhansali must be his normal self again. Request everyone to refrain from talking to him about the events during and following the fast.

[1] From a poem by Manibhai Nabhubhai Dwivedi; the original has "hidden" instead of "covered".

[2] The date is from *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*.

Let me know your final decision about Budhabhai[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5565

35. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Both your letters have been received. I shall use one in *Navajivan*. As regards the one about Devasinghji I think that for the present he should simply carry on in his military job but with a detached attitude. We shall see when the time comes.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 774

36. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

I have been unable to answer your letter earlier. I appreciate your devotion to your mother. Do what the inner voice bids. Ultimately it is this devotion which has to be sublimated into much wider service. But this change cannot be forced. Even when it is accomplished it will not diminish the filial devotion which will however become more refined. At present it is tinged with *moha*[2], albeit of the *satvik*[3] kind.

I trust your health is better.

I shall reach Delhi on the night of November 1.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2368

[1] A Jain gentleman who lived near the Ashram
[2] Attachment
[3] Pure

37. LETTER TO GIRIRAJKISHORE

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

MY DEAR GIRIRAJ[1],

I have your letter. I have heard from Pratap Pandit also. He says that he is taking a personal interest in you and that he will certainly watch what you are doing. At present he wants you to read and understand what is written in the light of the experience that you are having. I suppose that is much the best thing to do. You should also try to procure all the literature on the economics of the leather trade. You will find therein much to strengthen the method that we are pursuing. There must be in Pandit's library literature of this type too. If there is not, Kishorelal will be of assistance in finding out such books. You should collect all the information about the various tanneries in India, the condition of the leather trade, the requirements in India, the import of leather goods from outside, the history of the failure of the British Government to capture the leather trade from Germany. All this is interesting reading. You should avoid fever and when you do get any such thing deal with it at once. How are you doing otherwise? I hope you write to the Ashram regularly.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15617

38. LETTER TO R. THADANI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

MY DEAR THADANI,

I have your kind letter. I appreciate all you say about Girdhari. My own feeling is that no matter whom you get he will not be able to do justice to your firm's work as also to khadi. A little bit of sale may be effected but the work of production requires all a man's time. If therefore you aim at production you must get hold of an all-time worker and pay him specially either out of your own salary or out of the firm's income if the firm is will-

[1] An inmate of the Ashram who had gone to Bombay for training in tannery

ing. But the latter, I imagine, is not feasible and probably not advisable even if it were feasible. You are as it is paying a lot for national purposes out of your income. It may be quite the proper thing to use this portion under your own supervision and see whether your plan of production amongst the men and amongst the villagers surrounding you succeeds. If you will entertain some such proposal Girdhari of course is not the man for it because he has his work cut out for him where he can be more usefully employed. The reason why Girdhari had taken up some other than national work was because Girdhari himself was uncertain as to his future plans and uncertain as to his future wants. After much cogitation and consultation, so far as I read him, he has now made his choice. He thinks that he wants to dedicate himself to national service and have his reasonable wants satisfied up to a point out of national service. So you see that the parable you quote will not apply in Girdhari's case.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. THADANI
BURHANPUR (C.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15698

39. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

You must have got my letter[1] giving my opinion regarding Almora. I still hold that opinion. I may think of other possible alternatives after I talk over the matter with Prabhudas in Delhi. If I had been able to set up an ashram at Almora, I would have certainly sent you there. But that could not be, and now I don't think that it is possible. Let me also know why you particularly wish to go to Almora. I would look for other places for you if in any way you do not feel at home there. If you are keen on going to a hill station, there are other such places too. About Almora, I am in a moral difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9270

[1] Of October 17

40. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT

October 22, 1929

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL,

Your letter and mine crossed. I have read the Declaration of Trust[1]. The names are all right. If possible, my name may be omitted as I had suggested. If so desired, a statement may be included to the effect that the beginning was made under my guidance, but it would be better if my signature is not required. I have received the *Gita* proofs today.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MOHANLAL BHATT
NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA
AHMEDABAD
B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1224

41. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have not received today's mail till this hour.

No mail seems to have gone astray. Sooner or later I get every letter.

There seems to have been some misunderstanding regarding Ishwarlal.[2] I thought that he had asked for my permission in addition to yours. When he first spoke to me, I had asked him to obtain your permission. Henceforth we should make it a rule that no one should ask my permission directly. After the person in question has obtained your permission, he or she may ask me for my consent if desired. I should be kept out of as many things as pos-

[1] *Vide* "Declaration of Trust", 26-11-1929.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Ishwarlal Joshi", 23-10-1929.

sible. You may consult me on any matter. If, however, everybody asks for my opinion directly, there will be no order. This is an old complaint.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5464

42. *TELEGRAM TO GULZARI LAL NANDA*[1]

MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

GULZARILAL
MAJUR OFFICE
AHMEDABAD

YOUR WIRE SURPRISES ME. ON BEHALF LABOUR THERE WERE TWO GROUNDS FOR REQUEST RESTORATION CUT. ONE WAS ALLEGED INCREASE IN PROSPERITY. THIS FAILED. SECOND WAS IN ANY CASE CUT WAS UNWARRANTED BECAUSE IT REDUCED WAGES WHICH WERE ALREADY HARDLY ENOUGH PAY LIVING EXPENSES. THIS STATE OF THINGS STILL PERSISTS. HENCE MY FINDING THAT MAJURS' REQUEST SHOULD BE GRANTED IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS MILLS. SHOW YOUR WIRE AND THIS SETH MANGALDAS AND THEN SURPUNCH.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9642. Courtesy: Gulzari Lal Nanda

[1] This was in reply to the following telegram from the addressee dated October 22: "Surpunch sends following message to you. You find that present condition of industry not so prosperous as would justify increase. You still differ from colleague and hold cut of 1923 unjustifiable which means cut should be restored. This seems inconsistent. Please explain fully. Surpunch arrives Ahmedabad from Bombay 25th."

43. LETTER TO KANNOOMAL

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter some time ago. When I return to the Ashram I shall see what copies of some of your books I require and I shall trouble you, if I find it necessary, to post more copies of any of your books. If I get the time I shall certainly endeavour to go through some of your other books and shall write to you if there is anything worth conveying to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KANNOOMAL
DHOLPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15199

44. LETTER TO HARCHARAN LALL VARMAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] for which I thank you. Everything that goes to *Young India* is overlooked by me. So is almost everything that goes to Gujarati *Navajivan*. *Hindi Navajivan* is prepared by a trustworthy co-worker from Gujarati *Navajivan* and *Young India*. It may therefore have in some respects ampler details and in some others an abstract only of what may appear in either of the two papers. The English passed under my eyes before it was sent to the press. The Hindi I have now read after the receipt of your letter. I consider both to be unexceptionable. Do you see any conflict between the English and the Hindi versions and do you take any exception to either? If the slightest injustice has been done anywhere I shall endeavour to correct it.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15649

[1] Expressing surprise at the discrepancies in the roports of Gandhiji's visit to Dayalbagh published in *Hindi Navajivan* and *Youug India*

45. *LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

I have your letters. I endorse the arrangements you have made for the Pallepadu Ashram. I shall see to it that you get the sum of Rs. 1,000 somehow or other. And of course you have the absolute right to remove anybody and to employ any other person. What I would love to see is that you or Sitarama Sastri should occasionally stay at the Ashram. It will hearten the young men whom you have placed in charge and it will draw the sympathy of local people and you might be able to influence the villagers near the Ashram. I should like it to become a living centre of activity.

With reference to Tenali please let me know what grant is actually required by the Tenali institution and give me also a somewhat accurate idea of how the amount is expected to be laid out. What qualifications should the technical instructor have? Will he have to know Telugu or English, a requirement that it would be difficult to fulfil? Where is Punnayya working now? Cannot he or someone be sent to the Ashram to complete the training required? Most of the instructors are otherwise engaged but I do want to meet your wishes if it is at all possible. You have said nothing about your wife's health or your daughter's. How are they both getting on? You must prepare to attend the meeting of the Council at Wardha in December.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15699

46. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH CHECK OFFICE, CALCUTTA

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

THE SUPERINTENDENT
GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH CHECK OFFICE
CALCUTTA

SIR,

I enclose herewith a pre-paid reply form in connection with cablegram No. 559/11 handed in at Durban addressed to me and received at Sabarmati on the 12th instant. I could not use the reply form as the cablegram reached me during my tour too late for reply. Will you please therefore send Rs. 7-6-0 or its equivalent to the sender of the cablegram? The sender is the Secretary, South Africa Indian Congress, Durban.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15700

47. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

October 23, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

I have your letter. It will be enough if you give six months to Delhi. I have told them to let you go, if you willingly agree, only on the condition that Devdas teaches you English and so arranges your work that you can spare time for study. I will send the letter through Devdas himself. He is out of Delhi at present. During the six months we will think out where to send you after the period. We need not think about that just now. I hope you understand that the question of consulting me or obtaining my consent in addition arises only after the Secretary's permission has been obtained.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9279. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

48. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

At long last I got the *Gita* proofs yesterday. Redirected from place to place, they arrived very late. Now I shall be here today and tomorrow only. I don't think it will be possible even to have a look at them during that time. Both of you seem to have taken a good deal of pains over the thing. How is Durga's health nowadays? Has she resumed her kitchen duties? I hope she does not exert herself beyond her strength.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11462

49. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

October 23, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Read the letters to Ishwarlal and Dwarkanath and hand them over. Now I need write nothing to you about them.

My consent for your visit to Lahore was conveyed in a previous letter. As, however, you have requested a reply by wire, I am sending one.

I understand what you say about signatures.[1] When you can create confidence in Narandas, he will certainly work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5465

[1] *Vide* p. 10.

50. *ECONOMICS OF CATTLE BREEDING*

When I was convalescing in Bangalore two years ago,[1] Mr. William Smith, the Imperial Dairy Expert, gave me a precis of a statement he submitted to the Agricultural Committee in Poona. I extract from it the following valuable information[2] and commend it to the attention of everyone interested in the economic well-being of India.

This is a tremendous problem. The poverty of the cow is reflected in the poverty of the people. The reader will note the emphasis put by Mr. Smith upon two points. The milk-producing quality of the cow does not affect her capacity for giving a proper draught animal. In Mr. Smith's opinion based on long experience the two go together. The cow that gives a substantial quantity of milk will also give a substantial bullock. The second point made by Mr. Smith is, that whilst the buffalo may apparently do good to the individual, she kills the cow and therefore kills agriculture. Both these important things can only be handled by adequate education of those who own cattle. Of course if the State interested itself in the true welfare of the people as the States have done in many other parts of the world, the problem can be handled effectively inside of a few years but private effort too can do a great deal to arrest the growing decay of our cattle which are becoming an economic burden instead of being as they ought to be a blessing.

Young India, 24-10-1929

51. *ELECTED BOARDS*

It came upon me as a shock to find the District Board of Moradabad issuing a circular forbidding school teachers from taking part in politics, i.e., even collecting funds from their pupils or others for *Daridranarayana*[3]. That same Board gave me an address with a beautiful casket. Probably the Board knew nothing about

[1] April 19 to August 31, 1927

[2] Not reproduced here. William Smith had analysed the causes and recommended remedies for the poor condition of milch cows and draught bullocks.

[3] God in the form of the poor

the circular. The loyal zeal betrayed in the circular no matter by whom evidently outruns the loyalty of Government schools and colleges which have been inviting me to address their students and presenting me with purses for khadi. Government servants have openly given donations to the same cause. It has come to be recognized that khadi as such had no politics in it, and that whilst there may be two opinions about its economic value, its undoubted moral value may not be ignored by any educationist. Unquestionably it has its political side, but so have many other very important questions at present engaging the attention of the people as well as the Government. Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability are pre-eminently social questions, but they have today a political importance of the first magnitude, and they are items in the forefront of the Congress programme. But no one has yet been known on that account to prevent Government servants from interesting themselves in either of these questions. Indeed many District Boards have heartily joined the khadi movement and co-operated with the A. I. S. A. in promoting this the only national cottage industry of universal application. The only Board that has acted like the Moradabad Board and that has come under my notice is the District Board of North Arcot, which had the effrontery to issue the following warning:

> P. Ranganatha Ayyar[1], 1st Assistant, Board Middle School, Arcot, is informed, that his conduct in having lent himself to the raising of subscriptions by pupils to the khaddar fund is blameworthy and should not recur. As a whole-time servant of the Board, it is his duty to attend to the duties assigned to him by the Head Master in the school, and he should not fritter away his time in other avocations calculated to undermine the discipline or the popularity of the institution. He is hereby warned that a repetition of such conduct will entail summary removal from service.
>
> 2. The subscription notebook filed by him is returned and it is advisable for him to destroy it at once.

Note the rudeness of the language that omits even the common courtesy due to an employee enjoying the rank of a schoolmaster. Note too the excess of loyalty that demands destruction at once of an inoffensive little exercise book containing the names of equally inoffensive little children with the few coppers marked against their names. I regret to have to inform the reader that the poor schoolmaster was dismissed by the ultra-loyal North Arcot Board. Whether it has since felt repentant I do not know. I hope it has,

[1] *Vide* p. 13.

In any case schoolmasters and others whom a fate similar to Sjt. P. Ranganatha Ayyar's may overtake need experience no despondency. No able-bodied honest man or woman who has no prejudice against honest labour has any occasion to starve for want of work. The cry that I hear everywhere is that many public movements want good and true workers.

But though the dismissed persons may be indifferent about what may befall them in the execution of a public duty, the public dare not be. The Boards are now overwhelmingly elective with elected chairmen in most cases. I expect that the circulars such as the one to which I have drawn attention are issued departmentally without the knowledge of the members. It is the duty of the members to take notice of every high-handed and anti-national action by chairmen or departmental heads. And it is equally the duty of electors to keep a strict watch over the misdeeds of the Boards for whose existence they are responsible and who are their mouthpieces. Indeed if the electors only knew their rights and realized their duty, they would make any irregular or unpatriotic action by their Boards utterly impossible. It is the apathy of the general public which renders these elective Boards often instruments of oppression rather than of service. There is nothing to prevent the Boards from becoming powerful political bodies so long as they do not neglect or damage the social local service which is a first charge on their attention. It is possible even to demonstrate that it is necessary, in order to ensure social efficiency, for them to take part to a discriminating extent in the national movement for political emancipation.

Young India, 24-10-1929

52. *LALAJI ANNIVERSARY*

The Lalaji anniversary will be on us on the 17th November. The question that every patriot would naturally ask himself or herself is: 'What have I done during the year to vindicate Lalaji's death? What have I done to advance the cause of swaraj for which he lived and died? What have I done for the so-called untouchables whose cause he had made his own? What have I done in response to the appeal made by Pandit Malaviyaji and Pandit Motilalji?' There are many other questions which nationalists would ask themselves according to the emphasis they would put upon a particular characteristic in Lalaji's many-sided life, but my purpose is to suggest to all Congress Committees that they

should celebrate the anniversary by making up the amount of the appeal for five lakhs issued by Pandit Malaviyaji and Pandit Motilalji.[1] It is a matter of shame that we have yet been able to collect out of the five lakhs not more than two. If sufficient exertion is put forth there should be no difficulty in making up the deficit on or before 17th November. If they will do so, they must begin the preparations in right earnest from now.

Young India, 24-10-1929

53. *THE U.P. TOUR–VI*[2]

Here is the itinerary[3] for the week ending 18th instant.

PREJUDICES DIE HARD

From Barabanki we had to take the Express for Hardoi. The train was crowded. Gandhiji's insistence upon third-class travelling has become almost as rigid as before. The party got seats not without some difficulty which was removed by the railway authorities. Devdas Gandhi, whenever he is of the party, finds room for himself among the general travellers in order to make our party one less. At Barabanki he found room only in a compartment which had a card stuck upon a window "for Europeans and Anglo-Indians". He found in the compartment some Europeans and Anglo-Indians and some Indians too. There was no objection taken to him at Barabanki. But at Lucknow two European ladies objected to him on the plea that he was not properly dressed. He had a full khadi dhoti, vest and cap. They asked Devdas to go out of the compartment and, as he says, used offensive language. Young Gandhi would not oblige them. The good ladies summoned the guard to their assistance. Devdas Gandhi stuck to his guns. The usual procedure followed as a matter of course. The guard summoned the station-master. Then came the police. Naturally there was the inevitable crowd. Gandhiji was duly informed of what was happening. He decided to leave Devdas free to do as he chose and to remain indifferent. Professor Kripalani and others went to this 'reserved' compartment, while

[1] For the appeal drafted by Gandhiji, *vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 95-7.

[2] This and other items under this title signed 'A' were written by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 18-11-1929. Although there Gandhiji mentions 'three letters' as having been written by him, actually six of them appeared over the initial 'A' and these are reproduced in this volume.

[3] Not reproduced here

the argument was developing. There was a missionary in the compartment. The discussion between him and the missionary was fairly warm, for the Professor could not appreciate the latter's argument that Devdas should yield because the good ladies objected to his dress. The end of it all was that the police would not or could not arrest the offending wearer. The train steamed out, and Devdas says the missionary and the ladies subsequently became friends. The incident is tragic showing how prejudices die hard. Europeans and Anglo-Indians have not yet realized that the dhoti is the national costume of the vast majority of India's population. So long as there are compartments reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, so long will race and colour prejudice assert itself giving rise at times to unforeseen consequences. For the reservation feeds the insolent prejudice and keeps it alive. In Devdas Gandhi's case the label too was probably put up illegally. The compartment was not stamped in the usual manner. This insulting reservation can only be kept up so long as the multitude of passengers mutely and meekly submit to the injury. No regulation which lacks popular support has any chance of being respected. Let us hope that the courteous and successful resistance offered by young Gandhi will move the authorities to abolish the offensive reservation.

A True Shraddha

The visit to Hardoi was interesting for several events. The activity of one selfless woman had altered the complexion of things. Shrimati Vidyadevi, the wife of Raja Jungbahadursinh of Barua, a small zamindari, has moved her husband and other relatives to a spirit of service. She has broken down the *purdah* for herself and for those who have come under her influence. She is a regular spinner, and her sister-in-law Shrimati Lakshmidevi spins exceedingly fine yarn. A khadi piece woven in Barua out of her yarn was presented to Gandhiji who auctioned it for Rs. 105 at the public meeting in Hardoi. Rani Vidyadevi gave up at the women's meeting some costly jewellery. The gifts at the women's meeting amounted to nearly Rs. 1,700, Rs. 700 being in cash and jewellery worth about Rs. 1,000. The bulk of it came from this one family. Moved probably by the same silent influence Kunvar Maheshvarsinh had a khadi store opened by Gandhiji in memory of his wife who died in January last. The address presented to Gandhiji on the occasion stated that the late Shrimati Sarasvatidevi was a woman of learning, had torn down the *purdah*, was a regular spinner, and a regular worshipper of God.

She used herself to distribute free medicine among needy women and children, and took delight in sewing garments for the latter. There could be no better *shraddha* or memorial to a woman so pure and devoted to the cause of the poor as the Shrimati was. No wonder Gandhiji made her life the text of his address to the women's meeting.

MISCELLANEOUS

I must pass by many interesting events, noting only a few as I pass by those that crowd upon my mind as I am writing these notes. The visit to Moradabad was noteworthy for the fact of Gandhiji being the guest of an old Mussalman friend Maulvi Abdus Samad Saheb—a rare event nowadays. He opened a new house for an old library, the donation of one citizen Lala Brajlal. In Dhampur we found the khadi activity in full swing. The orderliness of the reception evoked great praise from Gandhiji. The noise, the jostling, etc., had tired him out. He felt therefore refreshed as he alighted on the platform and moved through the motionless rows of men and women who had crowded at the station. The work of the Arya Pratinidhi Seva Samiti too delighted Gandhiji. In Hardwar an attempt was made by the so-called orthodox Brahmins to boycott Gandhiji, but it failed signally. The purse, which the most sanguine thought might not exceed Rs. 500, was fully Rs. 2,500 owing to the exertions of the Vice-principal of the Kangri Gurukul, Pandit Devasharma Abhaya, assisted by a band of associates. Due to his exertion there is also a khadi bhandar which is well nigh self-supporting. Of the insanitation both moral and physical of this great and ancient place of pilgrimage I need say nothing at present, as Gandhiji proposes to write himself next week.[1] I may not touch Dehradun and Mussoorie this week.

Young India, 24-10-1929

54. SERVANT OR MASTER?

Whatever was said about volunteers in a previous issue[1] bears repetition. I have noticed during every one of my tours that volunteers do not know whether they are servants or masters. For instance, during meetings if some instruction is to be conveyed to someone, it sounds more like a command than a request. When they lead me up to the platform, instead of requesting the villagers politely and gently to make way, they push them and order them in harsh tone and language to move off. At stations, wherever I get off, there is naturally a crowd. The volunteers, instead of politely requesting the crowd to make way, shout at them; so the people neither understand nor listen to them. On the other hand, the uproar makes confusion worse confounded. Not to mention my own distress, although the object of all these orders is to save me from hardships. When the whole procession leaves the platform, no consideration whatever is shown to the passengers. People trample on their luggage, push them about, and if a passenger is sitting in their path, he is shown no consideration either. Similarly, when we proceed along a road and some villager walks in the middle of the road, volunteers consider it their duty to swear at him and remove him out of the way. I can give many more such examples. I don't believe that this incivility is deliberate, but is due to lack of discretion and education. The air is charged with notions of high and low. The townspeople look down upon the rural folk. When the kings set out in procession, their retinue accompanies them with great fanfare, even abusing the people without hesitation. The white masters have only imitated this. The foreigners are adept at copying such things. We have also been influenced, unwittingly, by this atmosphere. But in these days of public awakening volunteers must become true servants. Their service should be sincere and silent. The poor and the helpless must be served. Hundreds are willing to serve famous leaders who are pestered with excessive and unnecessary attention; but very few come forward to serve the poor; and of those few, many consider that they are doing the poor a great favour by serving them. The truth is that he who serves the poor discharges a small part

[1] *Vide* pp. 9-10.

of his debt. India's poor die of hunger, they have become helpless, and of all this misery, we the middle class people are the cause. The volunteers too belong to this class. It is we who have sustained ourselves by sitting on their backs so long and are doing so even today. When the poor realize their right and their might, then they will become our masters and we shall be forced to serve them. When that happens no one will call us volunteers; we shall certainly be called their slaves or servants.

Therefore, no volunteer should think even in his dream that when he serves the village folk courteously, respectfully and sincerely, he is doing anyone a favour. His greatness and the greatness of the country lie in such service only.

[From Hindi]
Hindi Navajivan, 24-10-1929

55. *LETTER TO HEMANTA K. CHATTERJEE*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of September 24th[1] and enclosure which I have now had time to read. I must confess that your scheme for ensuring a better milk supply does not appeal to me in spite of the findings of various Committees to the contrary. I am of opinion that there is no escape from municipalization of the milk supply if we are to make it uniformly cheap and accessible to the poorest citizen of Cawnpore. If it is a fact that a municipality cannot handle such enterprise because of the likelihood of corruption I should imagine that no other institution will, whether private or public. The secret of municipal government must consist in evolving honest enterprise by municipalities themselves setting the example. It bodes ill for corporate life if municipalities cannot handle big enterprises with success, efficiency and comparative cheapness. A municipality has facilities a private corporation can never command in a well-ordered State. There are two or three maxims which must be borne in mind for ensuring the supply of cheap and pure milk in a commercial centre like Cawnpore. Milk must be largely produced in a municipal farm, a fair distance from Cawnpore. Secondly,

[1] Seeking Gandhiji's opinion on a milk supply scheme proposed by the Public Health Committee

there must be a method of ensuring cheap transport. Thirdly, sale of milk should be a municipal monopoly even as the manufacture and sale of postage stamps is a monopoly of the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. HEMANTA K. CHATTERJEE, B.A., LL. B.
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15253

56. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*October 24, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had already written to you about Lahore in a previous letter, and my letter of yesterday would reach you tomorrow at the latest. Hence I dropped the idea of sending you a wire and saved 12 annas.

You will receive a request from the Princess of Amava for a portable spinning-wheel with ball-bearings. If you receive such a request and if you have a model ready, send it. If you do not have any, get one made and send it. It would be good to keep one or two more ready in stock. You are likely to receive a letter from the Princess of Jasdan, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5488

57. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

CAMP SAHARANPUR,
October 25, 1929

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I noticed in the papers that you and Lala Shankerlal are appealing for a purse to be presented to me on my arrival in Delhi earmarked for local Congress work. Nowhere have purses of this description been countenanced. Purses earmarked for provincial service have been accepted in some places but everywhere the principal purse has been for khadi. Here if the papers

[1] *Vide* p. 36.

correctly report you the purse is exclusively for local Congress work. This may not be done on any account. If nobody cares for khadi I think that no collections should be made. I must also say that I would discountenance anything done by Lala Shankerlal in connection with my visit. My experience of him has not been happy. He has still not refunded so far as I am aware the moneys due to the All-India Spinners' Association. He has not sent the full amount collected in the name of the Bardoli struggle to Bardoli. There have been several other complaints made to me from time to time about his financial dealings but I have not thought it worth while to investigate them. I know that Jamnalalji and several others have the same experience of him. I am sorry. But as I saw his name associated with yourself I thought I should tell you what I feel about him. You may certainly show this letter to him. If any injustice has been done to him and if I can be convinced of it I shall tender my apology to him. I did write to him once or twice about the All-India Spinners' Association money and then in despair gave up writing anything to him further. I would have preferred silence even now. But I would have been guilty of suppressing the truth if I had not told you of my opinion of Lala Shankerlal. I hope you will not arrange for any public meeting either unless it is really called for. I must visit Delhi now as it has been announced and I have sent appointments to some people. I am staying with Raghbir[1] as he wrote to me whilst I was in Mussoorie reminding me of the promise I made him when I was last in Delhi that on my next visit I shall stay with him. I expect to reach Delhi on the 1st proximo, by car from Meerut time in the evening.

I hope you got a fat sum from Bhopal and that you had a successful tour in the South so far as the Jamia is concerned. I saw in the public Press that your tour was wholly successful otherwise. Hayat[2] met me in Mussoorie. Rest of this when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15709

[1] Raghbir Singh, founder of Modern School, New Delhi
[2] H. M. Hayat of Bhopal

58. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SAHARANPUR,
October 25, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I too had thought of Wardha and even mentioned it in a previous letter. For my part I am scheduled to reach Wardha on December 6, but you need not wait till then. Go there earlier if you are not keeping good health. Whether Prabhudas goes to Almora or not, I may make independent arrangements if you wish to have a taste of the Almora winter. Just now Almora is bound to be very cold and will become colder day after day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9269

59. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

SAHARANPUR,
October 26, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

Just now I am so much in arrears with my correspondence that I cannot remember to which letters I have replied and to which I have not. I see that I have not been able to reply to your letter of October 8. I have the impression that you had enclosed with it the stamps for an express telegram, but now I am only writing this letter as I believe that sending a telegram is meaningless. If you two decide to come, I shall be in Allahabad from Nov. 15 to 20th. I shall be staying in Anand Bhavan with Pandit Motilalji. There are so many items in your food that even very small quantities of each will make the total quantity excessive. Do give up the groundnuts. When one takes milk and/or curds, it is not necessary to eat groundnuts or any other nutritious food. I hope you follow the practice of taking whey only after putting soda bicarb into it. The rest when we meet. We can talk at leisure only in the Ashram, and I should prefer you seeing me there. I shall

reach the Ashram on the night of November 25. Leaving it on December 1, I shall go to Wardha where I shall stay up to the 20th. It would be all right even if you come and see me at Wardha. It would be more convenient for you to do so. I think you know that there is a Satyagraha Ashram at Wardha. When at Wardha, I invariably stay there. You will find my programme in *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6794

60. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN,
ON WAY TO MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 26, 1929

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter. Your minimum demand is for Rs. 2,500, and the maximum for Rs. 16,500. As far as I see things, there are risks even in the purchase of land. My idea in suggesting that you should see Thakore Saheb was that you might accept the land if he offered a deed making a free gift of the land. As I visualize the possibility of his taking back the land even after making an outright grant, you should drop the idea for the present. As for the other expenses to be incurred, we shall think of the matter later and hence, for the present, I will arrange to get you Rs. 3,000. As desired by you, you will get the first instalment of Rs. 500 at the end of *Kartak*. I am writing to the Ashram about it. I hope you have been cured of eczema. How did you get it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8700. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

61. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 26, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Recently you have become slack in writing to me, and I have always been so. However much I hurry, I cannot cope with each day's programme of work and something or other is always left out. As I cannot gather the courage to resist the people's love and enthusiasm, even at the cost of over-straining myself I yield to many of their wishes and am obliged to give them more time than I had intended. As a result, letters remain unanswered, nor can I manage to write other letters which I may have intended to write.

I got your letter regarding Kaki. There is no doubt that she was very fortunate. She had no reason to wish to live longer.

I hope Bal[1] and Shankar[2] have now completely got over their grief.

I trust things are going on all right with the girls who have newly arrived. May God give you the strength for all such services. Your faith is such that you are bound to get it. Do not count the expense in taking milk and fruit. You are right in what you say about the girls. We give them much, but there is much still which we can give and much that remains to be done. I am, however, sure that, as we have been trying to give them the basic things of life, God is bound to grant us the strength to give them the rest. We have not yet been able to train women workers who can give the girls all that they need, and no women workers from outside whom we would welcome have offered to help. We should, therefore, have faith in what we have been doing and keep patience.

Take utmost care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 27-8

[1] & [2] D. B. Kalelkar's sons

62. WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS

The Students' Association of the Gujarat Vidyapith conducted an inquiry to find out the views of its ex-students about national education, their ideological and financial position, etc., and has brought out its findings in the form of a small pamphlet. It is now a year since the pamphlet was published. It has been constantly with me on my travels, and though it is rather late it will still not be out of place to give a summary of the results mentioned in the pamphlet, in view of its usefulness.

The number of graduates who passed out of the Vidyapith from 1921 to 1926 was 251. Omitting those from Sind and Madras, a questionnaire was sent to more than 200 students. Of them 82, including two ladies, sent in their replies. The pamphlet mentioned above gives an excellent summary of their replies, which should be read by those eager to make a study of national education. Here I can give only a few hurriedly jotted points:

Replies as to why they quit Government schools are as below:

Out of political fervour	33
Because of faith in non-co-operation	10
Because of conviction of the need for national education	10
In obedience to the call of the nation	11
At the instance of relatives	6
Being carried away by the prevailing current	12
Total	82

Of these, one student writes the following about the conditions under which he non-co-operated:

> "I left my college against the advice of the elders in my family and caste, and against that of the institutions which were helping me. I thus lost the monthly scholarship of Rs. 60 which I was getting at the Government college."

The following are a few of the opinions given by the ex-students about the atmosphere of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, i.e., the college section of the Vidyapith:

> "There was great freedom. A notable fact was that the Mahavidyalaya completely changed my life. I might say that it brought about a rebirth for me."

"To begin with the atmosphere was political but afterwards it underwent a change. On the whole, it was such as to foster noble thoughts, though one cannot say that it also gave the power to translate those thoughts into action or even prepared us for that."

"The distinction of the Vidyapith lay in its religious and pure atmosphere."

"Throughout the three years I spent there the atmosphere was so good and uplifting that I dare say one could not find it anywhere else in India."

"The atmosphere was very helpful both for study and contemplation."

"Gujarat Vidyapith shows us the path, direct and straight, as to how a man can lead the highest kind of life. The atmosphere prevailing there offered me the best opportunities for the experience of life in the world —a gift by no means inconsiderable when one comes to think of its importance in one's own life."

"The atmosphere was very pure. There was not that narrow-mindedness which one comes across in Government schools and colleges. Everybody had the utmost freedom which was very helpful in the intellectual development of the students. At the same time there was also scope for the boys to abuse the freedom because not having had it before they could also misuse it. Under the circumstances there is little danger of the boys' mental deterioration."

At the time the pamphlet was prepared, the graduates were employed as follows:

		Total
In educational institutions		
1. Vidyapith	9	
2. Recognized or unrecognized national schools	21	
3. Government schools	7	37
In institutions for depressed classes		
1. Institutions for untouchables	2	
2. " Bhils	2	
3. " Kaliparaj	1	
4. " Labour	3	8
Independent employment		
1. Agriculture, business, etc.		11
2. Private employment, business, office jobs, etc.		18
3. Legal practice		2
4. Journalism		3
5. Not engaged in any particular profession		3
		82

The readers will note that out of 82 as many as 45 were earning their living through social service work.

As for the figures of their earnings, no one earned less than thirty rupees a month.

Twelve graduates were earning sixty rupees per month. The number of those who had a monthly income of seventy-five rupees was 15. One of the graduates was earning Rs. 200, another Rs. 130 and three earned Rs. 125. Thus those who earned from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 were 57. Eighteen graduates could not send the figures for their incomes because they were engaged in independent business or professional work. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these results are very satisfactory. Graduates of Government universities are often found to be earning even less than 30 rupees a month. Here there is only one who gets 30 rupees and very likely he too is doing so voluntarily as a sort of discipline. Today there are many among the educated in India who are ready to take up service for no more than a living—for just enough to keep body and soul together. We have seen that of the aforementioned, 42 are already engaged in social service work. And this is indeed the ideal which the Vidyapith seeks to set before its graduates, namely, that they should take up some sort of social service work at just a subsistence wage. As against this, the ideal in a Government university, if it can be called an ideal, is, understandably, career, i.e., a lucrative profession meaning mainly to secure Government service. A national institution devotes itself to training national workers, while a Government university addresses itself to preparing Government servants whom we consider to be slaves. In a national college service is its own reward while in a Government college there is the inducement of a rise in salary and the promise of a pension. The only pension a national worker can look for lies in the hope that there is in every man the instinct of grateful appreciation of pure service and that the people cannot fail to develop love and regard for their benefactors. That is why I regard the result mentioned above as excellent. The figures for monthly income prove that the graduates of the national university are able to make enough income even in the sphere of service. And as time passes, and the spirit of sacrifice spreads, I hope to see a reduction made in the above earnings, not of course by force but voluntarily. As long as crores of our people are starving, a man who takes two rupees when he can do with one is really guilty of thieving.

The following extracts are from the replies to the question "What would you prefer to adopt as your life-work?"

"To be a soldier in the struggle for the freedom of the country and society"

"Any such activity as will enable me to take part in doing service to the country"

"Education and khadi"

"Harijan work or work in the primary or secondary schools in villages"

"I will have the satisfaction of having done my life-work if I could have the opportunity to serve the people in any form."

These graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapith admit the superiority of national education and its many advantages. Nevertheless, they have not hesitated to express their view that national education in its present form is imperfect. This freedom of thought raises the pamphlet's worth.

The figures given below show that up to 1926 only a small number had appreciated the value of sacrificial spinning:

Those who spin for an hour or more daily	5
Those who spin only for half an hour	10
Those who spin 1000 yards per month	9
Irregular spinners	9
Those who did not spin	49
	82

This indifference towards a thing which people like me regard as a great *yajna*, whose importance has been ever recognized by the Congress in its resolutions, is certainly disappointing. But I know that there has been an improvement in the situation after 1926 and I am therefore satisfied.

The number of those who stuck to pure khadi for their clothing was 56 which, though inadequate, may yet be regarded as fair, seeing that something is better than nothing. Of course, there were others who used khadi to a limited extent. Those who did not use khadi explain their difficulties thus:

"We have to work among the people who belittle our value on account of the simplicity of khadi. This results in less work for us and therefore less earning."

"The dearness of khadi, the difficulty of getting it, and the keen desire for fine mill-cloth are a hindrance."

"Ready-made garments of mill-cloth are available at the shops at very cheap prices. It is not so with khadi."

That such excuses are put forward to explain why they do not use khadi shows that many do not yet know what a great

help khadi is to the starving poor and what a great contribution it is making to our freedom struggle. It is to be remembered that no country has won freedom in this world without suffering privations and difficulties.

It would be very useful if developments in respect of khadi and other things, subsequent to the publication of the pamphlet, could be made available. I congratulate the editors on bringing out this pamphlet. Every national worker can learn much from it. The Association would do well to continue their inquiry. It should be the primary object of the Association to maintain spiritual contact with all the graduates of the Vidyapith, share their joys and sorrows and not allow a slackening of the ideals for which the Vidyapith has been founded.

I feel that those who read this pamphlet cannot but come to the conclusion that the national schools and colleges have done much good to the country, and that the strength which we find in the students today owes its origin to these institutions.

I have had the same experience in regard to the results of the work of the Kashi Vidyapith as of those of the Gujarat Vidyapith which have been noted above and I am sure that the same will be found to be true, on examination, in the case of the Jamia Millia and the Bihar Vidyapith. I also advise the Association to establish contacts with all the national universities, and collect and collate all information about them. It may perhaps be desirable to hold occasional or annual conferences of the teachers and graduates of these universities. Professor Gidwani had, in fact, attempted this. If such a conference is held, it should not synchronize with the Congress week. Our tendency to hold all conferences simultaneously with it is, I think, harmful. It distracts people's energy instead of concentrating it; and the people gain little from these conferences. If a conference is worth holding it should be held separately. It is not possible that all people would be interested in all the conferences. Rightly the Congress is the organization which should interest all people. Therefore, during the Congress week, the people's attention should be directed to the sole purpose of strengthening the Congress.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-10-1929

63. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 27, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have not replied to your letter. I hope that Bhai Hemshankar is now completely free from his teeth trouble.

In my suggestion[1] to avoid personal criticism I did not think merely of practical wisdom, but it was and is a matter of principle also. Just as it would be uncivilized on my part to criticize you behind your back or outside your home, though it would be a duty to do so in your face, it is also improper to criticize one princely State in the territory of another, particularly when the latter is known to be on friendly terms with the former.

I know that we do not always follow this principle, but that does not prove that as a principle it is wrong.

Such being my views, I hold it to be the duty of a person, who believes in the principle I have stated, to dissociate himself from an organization — in the present instance, the youth movement — which indulges in such criticism as a matter of principle and makes it its chief aim. It is one's duty to resign from an institution whose defects carry one in a direction one does not approve of. There may be no objection to remaining, and occasionally it may even be a duty to remain, in the institution whose defects we hope to remove or remedy, keeping ourselves aloof from those defects. I think I have fully replied to your letter from Broach, dated September 29.

Now I turn to your second letter. The problem of Wadhwan is a complicated one. The chief question is what strength you have — you, that is, your organization as a whole. How far all the members of your organization can feel love for the wrongdoer is for you to examine. If you are satisfied in the matter, you have the full right to offer satyagraha. Whether you have the strength to offer it, whether the time for it is ripe, whether you have acquired the necessary fitness — all these questions should be considered beforehand. This means that, in deciding the question, what is first needed is detailed knowledge of the facts; after

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 483-5.

that, all that is necessary is application of practical wisdom. You alone know the facts. If an error from the point of view of practical wisdom is committed, it can be overlooked.

After this you may act as you think fit. If you wish to consult me in the matter, you may see me in the Ashram after November 25. But it seems that you will have already taken, before you get this reply, many of the steps you propose to take. You know my tour programme. If you so desire, you may write to me at any of the places included in the programme and ask me about any matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2836. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

64. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 27, 1929

BHAISHRI RAOJIBHAI[1],

I got your letter. I have no doubt at all in my mind about the need of running the kitchen and succeeding in it. The problem of its management will be solved through actual experience. Our duty is to see that though the burden and the responsibility rest on the women, we act in such a manner that the women do not feel the burden and the responsibility and yet are aware that they are theirs. There is the well-known illustration of Queen Victoria and her ministers. Though the responsibility was the Queen's, the ministers let no burden fall on her. However, this after all is wisdom from a distance. The main thing is to ensure that the experiment succeeds, whatever the method we follow in running the kitchen.

The cure for Dahibehn's illness lies in sun-bath, hip-bath, open air, light exercise and avoidance of starchy food. All of us eat much more starch than we need. We may, therefore, look robust, but in fact the body is flaccid. I had actually proved this once to Velanbehn in her own case.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8985

[1] A khadi worker at Sabarmati Ashram

65. *DISCUSSION WITH MEERUT CONSPIRACY PRISONERS*[1]

MEERUT,
October 27, 1929

The accused were rather surprised to see Mahatmaji coming to them in jail and some of them actually exclaimed it was a great surprise that he had come to them. Mahatmaji replied:

I hope it would not be a painful surprise.

After the comrades were personally introduced, Mahatmaji said he would be satisfied if Dominion Status in terms of the Nehru Report[2] were given immediately. He would consider it independence, if, as is implied by the Nehru Provisions, it contained the organic ability of severance of connection.

Questioned if he would adopt the same attitude of thankful acceptance as he did in Amritsar on Montagu Announcements, if the new reforms were less than the terms of the Nehru Constitution, but a slight advance on 1917, Mahatma Gandhi said he would not accept them.

After this the Bombay comrades had a long discussion as to why Gandhiji did not help the 1928 general strike. Asked why he did not give them help, when several workers visited Ahmedabad to collect funds for the strike, Gandhiji said he thought the strikers were wrong in their action. . . .

[About] the grievances of the workers in the 1928 strike, he said none of the strike-leaders had cared to see him and explain things.

[To a suggestion] that he should have at least helped the women and children who were starving, Gandhiji said instead of that he would have told the women to ask their men to go to work and feed them!

[On a remark] that unless the Congress accepted the programme of organizing the workers and peasants there would be no effect on the Government, Mahatmaji said he welcomed everyone to convince the Congress of any programme and put it through.

Gandhiji's attention [was drawn] to a very serious complaint . . . regarding the method of collecting money for his purse in some places in U. P. districts. . . . Big zamindars with the help of lawyers and intellectuals, [it was alleged,] forced a fixed tax per head on the peasants in their zamindari for contribution to Gandhiji's purse. Mahatmaji asked if Mr. Dange[3] could cite any

[1] At his own initiative and quite unexpectedly, Gandhiji visited the Meerut Jail and saw the Communist undertrials in their barracks. *Vide* "The U. P. Tour–VIII", sub-title, "With the Prisoners", 7-11-1929.

[2] *Vide* Vols. XXXVII and XXXVIII.

[3] S. A. Dange of the Communist Party of India

particular name or place. Mr. Dange said he would not do it just now, as he did not want to involve anybody's name. . . . Mahatmaji said he would mention it that very day in the meeting, and would inquire, if names were given, and would refuse to handle the money obtained by forcing the peasants to pay under the threats of a zamindar.

Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have reiterated his faith in non-violence as an efficacious political weapon and declared that he would retire from politics if it proved otherwise. A strike, opined Mahatma Gandhi, was non-co-operation and as such a good weapon in the hands of workers for the removal of genuine grievances.

To another question he replied:

I will certainly become an independencewallah, provided Dominion Status is not granted or promised by responsible heads of the British Government in India and England by the midnight of 31st December next. Whether the administration in such conditions would improve in quality depends on the personnel of the Government then.

He entertained hopes of attainment of Dominion Status within this period. He explained that he suspended civil disobedience in Bardoli[1] not because Bardoli was not prepared but as a direct consequence of the outbreak of violence in Chauri Chaura. Asked if Dominion Status was not forthcoming and another Chauri Chaura happened in the course of the contemplated civil disobedience whether he would advise another suspension of the programme, he replied:

That is the weak spot in me and you have to bear with me.

Asked what he would do for the Meerut case, Mahatmaji said:

If it were in my hands I would withdraw the charge, as in my scheme of things, holding opinions of any kind would be perfectly permissible.

Questioned as to his opinion previously expressed in *Young India*[2] that a case of this nature required no defence, Mahatma Gandhi explained that India had produced a sufficient number of legal practitioners who could take up a case of this nature without remuneration. He was never opposed to defence individually arranged but public subscriptions should not be utilized towards lawyers' fees in political trials.

Concluding his interview, he remarked that in the whole of his tour of the province this was the most pleasant hour he had spent.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-11-1929; *The Leader*, 31-10-1929 and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 29-10-1929

[1] In February 1922

[2] *Vide* Vol. XL, pp. 201-2.

66. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MEERUT

October 27, 1929

Mr. Gandhi . . . gave a joint reply in Hindustani to the several addresses presented to him by the local bodies and the Congress Committee. He thanked the citizens of Meerut for their contributions. He said Meerut's record of national service, though it fell short of the 1921 level, was a fairly good one. Rs. 14,000 was no small amount but it failed to satisfy his demands. He had taken upon himself a mission of service to *Daridranarayana*, the incarnation of poverty, and hence his needs would not be easily appeased.

Alluding to the Meerut alleged "conspiracy" case, he said the responsibilities of Meerut had increased a thousandfold in view of the trial being held there, a small city which was ill-chosen for the occasion. That city was lacking in suitable lawyers, books and other conveniences. Mr. Gandhi exhorted his audience to try to bring about the acquittal of the accused. Mr. Gandhi said: "I am not a Communist or any ist," but the accused were their brothers, and even if they were wrong it was not for Government to bring them to book, but for their countrymen to bring them round.

Mr. Gandhi pleaded for an extensive use of khaddar, removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. Thirty crores of Indians could move the whole world, and he took upon himself the task of getting the Meerut "conspiracy" prisoners out of jail if his countrymen took to khaddar. He exhorted the people to give up liquor and other intoxicants, and criticized the excise policy of the ministers under local self-government. Twenty-five crores of rupees was annually wasted on intoxicants. He deprecated the policy of financing the Education Department out of excise revenues.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1929

67. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

October 28, 1929

I was delighted to have your first letter from Sabarmati. As I was motoring from a village I was thinking of you and lo! as I reached Meerut at 11.30 I found your letter awaiting me.

I am sorry we shall not meet before 25th November. In a way I am glad. Your first experience of the Ashram will be on merits. My presence at the Ashram prevents a dispassionate experience.

Anyway please conserve your health. The best way to do it is to feel perfectly at home there and have all your necessary comforts supplied. Use the sun-hat freely in the hot sun. Do not attempt suddenly to walk about barefoot. Use the mosquito-net, if you find the mosquitoes about you. Do not use much ghee in the beginning stages at least. Avoid dal, try a little raw green vegetable whenever available. Keep your bowels in good order, if necessary, by taking castor oil, epsom salt or an enema. To ensure clearance, it is often better to go without one meal or to fast altogether for 24 hours, drinking freely hot water at intervals.

As you go on, I would like you to pick up a few Hindustani words daily. Note down every word you pick up. You can master the Devanagari character in 4 days' time, if not earlier. And please do not omit to get the meaning of the verses and hymns sung at the prayer time. These two prayer times I hold to be more essential than mealtimes.

Do make it a point to give me a weekly letter giving me freely of your impressions.

May you feel and be really happy and healthy at the Ashram.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C. W. 4526: Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

68. *LETTER TO RAMNARESH TRIPATHI*

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

BHAI RAMNARESHJI,

What I have been able to see of your collection of folk songs[1] has enabled me to have some idea of the extent of your labour and your love for the national language. It is a fine collection and I would like every Hindi-lover to study it. The book deserves a place in educational institutions. Your translation of the folk songs has further enhanced its worth. Congratulations on your effort.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 9240. Courtesy: Municipal Museum, Allahabad

[1] *Gramya Geet,* published in four parts

69. *LETTER TO KRISHNAN*

October 28, 1929

MY DEAR KRISHNAN,

I have been expecting to hear from you all these days. So I was glad when I got your letter. I do not know the merits of the exhibition controversy. But no man is infallible. It is enough if our associates do not err deliberately. We should be ready to excuse one thousand mistakes unconsciously committed. More when we meet.

Though my partiality for the common kitchen is well known I have no desire to influence anybody's opinion. And I know that if there are willing hands the kitchen will not be broken up. What is needed is the will to co-operate. Where there is hearty co-operation a kitchen is the easiest thing to manage. There is really very little work to do when it is equitably divided, each attends thoroughly to his or her own portion. Keeping time to the minute is of the greatest importance when many are working at the same thing. One person getting out of time is like one note out of time spoiling the whole piece. I would like all therefore to work away with hearty goodwill and there will be no more thought of a break-up.

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 9277

70. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence Day, October 28, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have already written to you about Wardha. You need not wait for me to reach there before you go. I am not at all happy that your fever persists. No matter how long you have to stay at Wardha, you must shake off the fever completely.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9268

71. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I cannot bear your falling ill. I hope you have completely recovered by now. One must observe moderation even in serving, and it will probably help you to render good service if you follow the maxim, 'Dharma without risking one's health'. We have, of course, the Englishman's experience in the saying, 'He enjoys the greatest leisure who works the hardest', and that is true indeed. Its point is that one who has done his duty sincerely is entitled to some rest. No one has the right to encroach on that much-needed rest.

As Diwali is now approaching, we should reconsider the question of the common kitchen. Give some time to it and decide the question finally as may seem best to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Yesterday I visited the Meerut prisoners. I spent with them an hour and a quarter or perhaps a half, listened to their taunts to my heart's fill and made them laugh a great deal before leaving them. They did not expect that I would visit them and seemed very pleased to see me. As for the actual conversation[1], you will get it if Devdas or Pyarelal reports. Professor had accompanied De[vdas] and P[yarelal]. I did not at all expect that whoever accompanied me would be permitted to enter.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11463

[1] *Vide* pp. 57-8 and "The U. P. Tour–VIII", sub-title, "With the Prisoners", 7-11-1929.

72. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

SISTERS,

Today we are in Kripalaniji's ashram in Meerut. Here too, therefore, we feel the atmosphere of our Ashram.

I write to you today about our common kitchen. Diwali is approaching. I have already received several letters. I write this to remove your fears. You have now had one year's experience. The entire burden of the kitchen was carried by you. I only enjoyed the benefits of the kitchen. I, therefore, put no value on my opinion. It is your opinion which should count. I will, therefore, accept any decision at which all of you arrive. But I do suggest this: Do not discuss the matter too much, nor take much time in deciding. Discuss important points and come to a quick decision. And whatever decision you arrive at, stick to it. Only thus shall we progress. There will always be arguments for and against a proposal, and we shall even make mistakes in our decisions, whatever they are. You need not worry on that score.

It is very necessary to learn to come to a decision and stick to it afterwards. It would be a different matter, of course, if we later feel that our decision was morally wrong. There can be no legitimate occasion of clinging to a decision which required us to commit a sin.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3707

73. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters.

From your telegram to Shanti I understand that Sushila, and perhaps you also, will start after Shanti reaches there. Be that as it may.

Chi. Nimu[1] has given birth to a daughter. Both the mother and the daughter are doing well. The delivery took place at Lakhtar and Nimu is still there. She did not suffer much.

My journey will continue till the end of November. Devdas is still with me. Krishnadas is at Almora.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4762

74. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

October 28, 1929

Interviewed by the Free Press representative about the much-talked-of invitation to prominent Indian Nationalist leaders to be issued by the British Cabinet for a Round Table Conference to discuss the question of the future constitution of India, Mahatma Gandhi said that he was not much interested in it and he preferred to be silent in the matter. He also preferred to be silent on the question of the programme to be settled in the Lahore Congress if Dominion Status was not granted by that time; but he reiterated his view that if Dominion Status was not granted within this year, he would be for complete independence from the next year.

The Hindu, 29-10-1929

75. SPEECH AT MEERUT COLLEGE, MEERUT

October 28, 1929

Replying to the welcome address, Mahatmaji thanked the students and the staff for the purse which he said had surpassed all purses presented to him in proportion to the number of students of the Meerut College. Mahatmaji expressed the fear that the welcome address given to him was not shown to all students and approved by them before being finally printed. He knew it had been rather customary to praise guests lavishly in welcome addresses. But he did not expect such welcome addresses from students. A welcome address by students, said Mahatmaji, should contain at best two things. Instead of being full of lavish praises it should contain much information about the students themselves as well as some instructions for them. Mahatmaji was afraid he was not worthy of the lavish praises sung in the welcome address and he pointed out that the real praise of a man was to follow his ideals.

[1] Ramdas Gandhi's wife

Continuing, Mahatmaji said he knew many students who did not support his ideals and were for present-day Western civilization and as a matter of fact many such students had written to him to that effect. So he did not know whether all the students of the Meerut College did subscribe freely to his ideals as expressed in the welcome address. However, said Mahatmaji, if they wanted to serve the motherland they should at least know what *samyama* or self-control was and they should at least make attempts to practise self-control. The reason for weakness and fear of present-day students was that they had forgotten to practise *samyama*. Mahatmaji exhorted the students to observe celibacy and advised married students to observe *samyama*. The students, he said, were soldiers and as such they should not be cowed down by threats. He knew, that very often students were asked not to do this thing or that by the authorities of institutions they read in and very often such restrictions were sought to be enforced by threats. He believed that students should not do many things but at the same time he hoped as soldiers the students should not allow themselves to be defeated by victimization. The worst that might happen to them for not obeying improper dictations by the authorities was that they might be expelled from schools and colleges. But certainly it did not matter much to them. They might prosecute their studies in many other places. Moreover, learning should never be regarded in terms of rupees, annas and pies, but it should be acquired for enlightening their souls.

Mahatmaji advised the students to take to khaddar which would give some relief to crores of their toiling and starving masses who were the real source of all their comforts in life including even their studies in schools and colleges.

Mahatmaji expressed regret in not being able to keep the plate and the welcome address. . . . He said that pledged as he was as a representative of *Daridranarayana* he could not keep those things.

At the conclusion . . . the servants of the college presented Rs. 21 to Mahatmaji to which Mahatmaji replied, "It is proper that servants are paying to a servant."

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-10-1929

76. LETTER TO SYED ROSS MASOOD

CAMP ASAURA,
October 29, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. It will certainly give me pleasure to renew my acquaintance with the students of the college and the professors. I shall gladly address them[1] at the time mentioned by you. As you have conferred with the Reception Committee I take it that there will be no conflict with the other appointments the Committee might have made.

Yours sincerely,

SYED ROSS MASOOD, ESQ.
VICE-CHANCELLOR
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

From a microfim: S.N. 15725

77. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASAURA,
October 29, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I have not yet been able to read the other mail forwarded with it. I see that you will start from there on the 4th. That means we shall not meet in Delhi. It will be enough if you plan to meet me, wherever I am, before you proceed further on your journey.

The problem about Bhansali is becoming delicate. Let us wait and see what happens. It was wise of Lilabehn[2] to have left.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5467

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Muslim University, Aligarh", 4-11-1929.
[2] Bhansali's widowed sister-in-law

78. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 29, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Just now [I saw][1] the other mail in which [I found][2] your letter. The resolution . . .[3] about the kitchen has not pained me but, on the contrary, has satisfied me, for I do not wish anything to be done under pressure from me. Everything done under pressure is likely to end in failure. I, therefore, welcome the Managing Committee's resolution. Whatever changes need to be introduced in conformity with it, let them be introduced by all means.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Twice or thrice have I conveyed my permission to you to go to Lahore. One of these letters has come back to me, which I am returning with this.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 173

79. LETTER TO B. L. RALLIA RAM

October 30, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You have asked the wrong man for naming the best book he might have read during the year. The book I get the time to read is the book of Nature which is not to be found on any book-stall.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. L. RALLIA RAM
NATIONAL COUNCIL, Y.M.C.A.
5 RUSSELL STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15706

[1], [2] & [3] According to the source, a corner of the sheet having been damaged, some words are illegible.

80. LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

October 30, 1929

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

With reference to your letter regarding Satis Babu here is my reply.

In my opinion if the A.I.S.A. cannot take part in the general Congress exhibition a separate function should not be organized at the same time as the Congress. I entirely agree that all the exhibits should show clearly the selling price of each article. The question of pooling the prices of khadi coming from different provinces is very difficult till we reach standardized cloth and standardized prices for all India for ordinary seasons. We cannot pool prices only for the exhibition and till we have the same quality in all the provinces for particular varieties. I think therefore that for the time being we shall have to be satisfied with different prices charged at different stalls from different provinces. What we can and must ensure is that no more than a certain percentage has been added to the cost price as it left the weavers' or the subsequent artisans' hands. My recollection is that Satis Babu knows all these views of mine. I believe that he corresponded with me in similar terms.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15726

81. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASAURA,
October 30, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I received your letter from Chalala also only yesterday. That is to say, letters dated the 21st and the 27th were also received yesterday. Sometimes it happens like that. I see from your letter that you were unable to write all the things you had in mind and so please make a note of all the points you wanted to tell

me about before you come to see me. It is really very good that your health has improved because of your walks. It is indeed a very good practice to have a change of air while doing one's work.

It was really good that Lilabehn left. She badly needed a change of atmosphere mentally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15828

82. *THE U.P. TOUR—VII*[1]

The foregoing has been, as the following itinerary[2] will show, a week of comparative rest so far as movement is concerned.

IN DEHRADUN

Dehradun has long been a favourite health resort for Europeans. It has an altitude of over 3,000 feet lying at the foot of beautiful Mussoorie described as the Queen of Hills. It has now become popular with well-to-do Indians too. It therefore boasts many educational institutions. It has what has been euphemistically but incorrectly called the Indian Sandhurst School. It has also several schools where boys for Cambridge Senior are prepared. It has too the famous Anglo-Vedic College founded in 1904 with an attendance of over 800 boys owing its existence to the munificent sole donation of 2½ lakhs by the late Thakur Poonamsinghji Negi. It has the Kanya Gurukul, an offshoot of the Kangri Gurukul and conducted amid great difficulty by Shrimati Vidyavati Devi. And when Gandhiji reached Dehradun it was holding a political conference with Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandonji as its President. Gandhiji was to stay there only for a day. The programme therefore was fairly crowded. It commenced with the laying of the foundation-stone[3] of Shri Shraddhanand Abala Ashram on a spacious plot of ground. In laying the foundation-stone Gandhiji laid stress on the necessity of making the inmates of such institutions feel as members of a family with the manager as father or mother. He therefore added: 'The foundation of such ashrams is laid not in brick and mortar but in securing the services of a manager who would eat with the inmates and live with them as their father, friend and guide.'

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 40.
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] On October 16

Addressing the many women who had gathered there Gandhiji said, 'If you truly revere Shraddhanandji's memory you will provide from among you a mother for this place. That men mostly manage such institutions is but a penance they are doing for having grossly neglected the education and training of girls and otherwise deprived women of the opportunity of bettering themselves.'

At the Anglo-Vedic College, where students presented their address and a purse of Rs. 500, Gandhiji asked the students to spread out in the villages as the Chinese had done and give the proper type of education and information both to the children and adults. This they could do during their long vacations.

There was also the meeting of the so-called untouchables. They have adopted the name Raidasi from the great Chamar saint Raidas. These are all well-to-do families at present. From day-labourers they have become owners of limekilns. They presented a purse naturally for the Lalaji Memorial. They owe much to the work done for and amongst them by the young men sent out by Lalaji. Gandhiji told them that they should learn to help themselves by carrying on intensive internal reform. Lala Beharilal, who is an elected member of the Union Board, is their leader owing his training to the Anglo-Vedic College. No one could possibly detect any difference between him and any other educated young man. Had I not known his antecedents, I should not have known that he was a tanner.

There was of course the Union Board address. Gandhiji in reply said, 'I cannot be satisfied unless you can make Dehradun a model town. Your roads are good only in fashionable quarters. The business centre where the workers and the poor live is not much better than when I saw it fifteen years ago. You do not supply pure and cheap milk to the aged and the children. Nor have you got rid of the drink curse in your midst. And yet you have among you good Hindus, good Mussalmans and good Englishmen and you proudly inform me that you are all working in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. Let the Union work for the benefit of the poor.'

The day closed with a monster meeting of women. It was too noisy for Gandhiji to make any speech worth recording.

The next day on his way to Mussoorie he went to the Kanya Gurukul. The girls recited in a beautiful voice an address composed in Sanskrit. There was then a neat little speech by Shrimati Vidyavati recounting her trials and difficulties. This was followed by a spinning competition in which Gandhiji, Shrimati Kasturbai and Shrimati Mirabehn had joined. There was a big bundle of

yarn too spun by the girls for Gandhiji which he returned asking them to turn it into khadi and then send it to him. In blessing the girls Gandhiji hoped that the institution would have its own abode instead of as now having to live in a state of uncertainty and suspense.

From the Kanya Gurukul we took on the way a purse from motor drivers' association and then halted at Rajpur where the late Dr. Keshav Dev Shastri had his sanatorium and where Mrs. Shastri with her sister though American is living the life of a strict Hindu widow. There were living there for the vacation over hundred boys of the Kangri Gurukul School. Gandhiji unveiled there the portrait of the late doctor and planted a tree in his memory. He received too an address from the boys and a pile of yarn which the boys had spun as also a purse which the boys had collected by their own labour.

In Mussoorie

And then at last Gandhiji went uninterrupted to Mussoorie. The cars do not go beyond Bhatta. An uphill distance of nearly three miles had to be covered either on foot, by dandy or rickshaw or on horseback. Gandhiji insisted on walking and got into a rickshaw only when he was about to enter the bazaar. This however proved most trying for him. Crowds pressed in upon the rickshaw from all sides. The din and the dust and the shower of flowers choked him. This went on for nearly an hour. He sat dazed and dejected in the rickshaw feeling perfectly helpless. Truly is a crowd's affection embarrassing when it is blindly exhibited.

The Reception Committee had left no stone unturned to make Gandhiji as happy and comfortable as possible. The weather was superb. The snowy range sparkling in the morning sun opened upon the sleeping citizens silently calling them to wake up and remember and thank God who had created for them the mountains with their luxuriant foliage and the life-giving waters that descended to the plains. Mussoorie is the resort of rajas and their ranis who pass their idle hours in luxurious dissipation. I understand that lakhs are spent in dances and the like to which we Indians are unused and which are as strong wine for us. In this exciting pastime, I was told, even the ranis, who otherwise live in seclusion, take part pretty freely as deeply interested spectators when they cannot take part in it themselves. Gandhiji found himself in this atmosphere like a fish out of water. When therefore he received the Municipal and other addresses[1] he pointedly reminded the citizens of their duty towards the poor people.

[1] On October 21

The European members of the Municipality and some other Europeans had attended the public meeting. And Gandhiji was called upon to speak to them in English. Addressing them he said, 'I do not envy you your amusements and enjoyments, but I would like you not to forget the poor in your midst. Your very existence on a hill like this depends upon their unremitting toil. They carry you and your luggage and furniture for a mere pittance. They are said to get no adequate return for their labour. They wear dirty rags, are said to live on *ata*[1] and salt and dwell in dirty, ill-ventilated hovels. You owe it to them to better their lot.' The Hindi address mentioned the fact that though they had little untouchability in their midst, yet the only Hindu temple was barred against the so-called untouchables. Gandhiji expressed painful surprise that in Mussoorie where mostly enlightened people lived such a thing was tolerated. He had therefore asked Devdas Gandhi to inquire into the affairs of the temple. It was discovered that some trustees had actually flung open the temple to the untouchables. But the permission lasted but a day. Some enemy of Hinduism incited the unthinking Hindus of the bazaar to opposition. They threatened the offending trustees with excommunication. The latter took fright and meekly yielded. Gandhiji therefore vehemently urged the workers at their special meeting to bestir themelves and see to it that the temple was made accessible to the untouchables on the same terms as to the caste Hindus.

The only other public function was a ladies' meeting. This was largely attended by European ladies and the girls from a European girls' college. Gandhiji had again therefore to speak in English. He said to them, 'You can, if you will serve this country, do at least two things. You can help the poor in a tangible manner by adopting khadi and you can help the total prohibition movement. It is for you to shame your men into doing their duty towards Indian labour. The drink curse has desolated many a labourer's home. There is no halfway house between drunkenness and prohibition. Well-to-do men may pretend to be moderate. But there is no such thing as moderation possible among labourers. You can therefore create an atmosphere favourable to total prohibition and earn the silent blessings of the unfortunate victims.'

Young India, 31-10-1929

[1] Flour

83. CHARKHA AS FAMINE RELIEF

Prafulla Babu of Abhoy Ashram writes about relief work undertaken by it in connection with the recent terrible floods:[1]

In the face of facts like these percolating through many sources, East and West, North and South, under varying conditions no one can deny the value of the spinning-wheel as a very substantial aid in famine times.

Young India, 31-10-1929

84. NOTES

NON-VIOLENCE *v.* COWARDICE

Dr. Hardikar sends me an account of an assault said to have been committed on the 31st July last at Bagalkot on some volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal. The volunteers were distributing handbills and marching with their bands playing without noticing a mosque which could not be seen as it was situated on a low level. The band continued to play even when they had approached it. Enraged men inside the mosque therefore came out and are alleged to have assaulted the volunteers with stones, sticks, pickaxes and other tools. The volunteers, according to the description given by Dr. Hardikar, apologized for the mistake that was unconsciously made but the assault was continued. The volunteers however never retaliated. They decided also not to conduct any legal proceedings. The question is whether this restraint could be called non-violent or cowardly. In my opinion, here there is no question of cowardice. The volunteers would have been cowardly if they had run away. On the contrary they are stated to have stood their ground and suffered the assault without retaliation at any stage. Non-violence and cowardice are contradictory terms. Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralizing, cowardice always is. I can detect no cowardice in the conduct of the volunteers. No one

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. It described how spinning and the sale of rice at cost price helped the flood victims.

claims the highest form of bravery for them. The assault, it is said, was so brutal that some Mussalman women who were nearby expostulated with the assaulters for continuing their assault in spite of the apology that was tendered. If the facts are as they are related, in my opinion the conduct of the volunteers was exemplary and strictly non-violent in terms of the Congress creed. Opinions may differ as to the propriety of such conduct, but there can be no two opinions about the bravery of the volunteers. It is undoubtedly in keeping with the creed that no court proceedings have been taken by the injured parties. My own conviction is that the more the volunteers learn the law of suffering bravely and consciously, the greater will be their efficiency for service when the critical time comes.

Who Should Protect?

An Assam correspondent writes a fearful letter describing abductions of girls, married, unmarried and widowed, and he indignantly asks what measures are being taken to protect the honour of our women. He sends me newspaper cuttings in corroboration of his statement. It is possible, as I have been repeatedly told, that these cases are exaggerated, but whether they are or not there is no doubt that abduction in well-organized society should be almost an impossibility. But I know that newspaper reporting can do very little in the way of securing protection for the girls who are in fear of being abducted. It is proof of rank cowardice on the part of relatives, friends and neighbours. A society that is unable to protect its womenfolk is unfit to marry and procreate. Licentious men will satisfy their lust whenever and wherever they can with impunity. The only agitation that can or should be set up is to shame those who do not protect their womenfolk into doing their duty.

Advertising Lewdness

Sjt. Jairamdas, the Hon. Secretary of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, has sent me mild specimens as he calls them of indecent pictures which unscrupulous sellers of foreign cloth put in the pieces of calico, etc., they sell. He tells me that there were pictures far more indecent than the specimens he has sent to me. Whether the interpolation of these pictures is the work of the agents or of the principals it is difficult to say, but the pictures are there and they bear also names appropriate to the lewdness they advertise. One is marked 'Vilas Jivan'[1] for instance.

[1] Voluptuous living

The unscrupulous ways adopted for enticing simple folk to buy foreign cloth ought to disgust decent men and make them boycott foreign cloth even for these unscrupulous ways apart from any other reason.

A CORRECTION

Writing with reference to a recent weekly letter[1] Professor Gautama of the Udaya Pratap Kshatriya College, Banaras, asks the Editor to correct the spelling of the name of his college from Udaya Pratap Khatri College to Kshatriya College, and he says that the money paid should be Rs. 370-2-6 instead of Rs. 369-2-6 as Re. 1 was paid later to Sjt. Sri Prakasa.

Young India, 31-10-1929

85. A GREAT MANIFESTO

The following manifesto[2] has been issued by the Untouchability Committee.

It will be noted that it is extensively signed and bears weighty names. It has been issued none too early. It is impossible to hold the so-called untouchables under suppression when everywhere there is a yearning for liberty. Those who seek it must be prepared to recognize it for those whom they have hitherto deprived of it. There is a wholesome legal maxim which says that those who seek justice must come with clean hands.

Young India, 31-10-1929

86. PHYSICAL AND MORAL INSANITATION

There can be no doubt that at one time Hardwar and the other celebrated places of pilgrimage were really holy. Their natural beauty, their ancient popularity would seem to show that at one time they were sanctuaries for the preservation and purification of Hinduism. In spite of my innate love of Hinduism, in spite of my conservatism that ever seeks to respect and justify ancient institutions, these holy places have few man-made attractions for me.

[1] By Pyarelal in *Young India*, 3-10-1929

[2] Not reproduced here. Signed by influential persons, it called upon all the Hindu organizations to observe the next *Kartika Ekadashi* as a day for the extinction of untouchability.

It was in 1915 that I first visited Hardwar[1] as a volunteer working under Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru who was in charge of the Seva Samiti organized by the Servants of India Society. I was therefore able to come in intimate touch with many men and things which otherwise I would not have done. I had gone there full of hope and reverence. But whilst I realized the grandeur of the holy Ganga and the holier Himalayas, I saw little to inspire me in what man was doing in this holy place. To my great grief I discovered insanitation both moral and physical. I found during the recent visit[2] not much change for the better. There is the same defilement of the mighty stream even in the name of religion. Thoughtless ignorant men and women use for natural functions the sacred banks of the river where they are suppposed to sit in quiet contemplation and find God. They violate religion, science and laws of sanitation. All the religions in the world prohibit the pollution of streams, their banks, public roads and all thoroughfares. Science teaches us that human evacuations, whether liquid or solid, make most valuable manure if they are properly conserved. Hygienists regard it as a crime against humanity for any person to perform natural functions in the places enumerated by me. This pollution is a sin born of ignorance or laziness. But there goes on deliberate pollution too in the name of religion. I was taken to the river to perform the usual ceremony. Flowers, yarn, curds, coloured starch, rice and the like were thrown into the river whose waters millions drink in the faith that they are doing a meritorious act. I protested that it was harmful to throw these things into the waters. "It is a tradition handed down from ages," was the priestly reply. Add to this the reported criminal emptying of the drain-pipes into the sacred waters.

Although the passenger traffic is very heavy, the station is as primitive as it could be made. There are very few conveniences for the passengers. The streets are narrow and unkempt. The roads are indifferently kept. Thus the authorities have conspired with the people to render Hardwar as little attractive as possible.

So much for the physical insanitation of Hardwar. I was reliably informed that moral insanitation was far worse. I have not the heart to narrate here the stories I was told of the horrible vice that went on in Hardwar. There was a naive admission in

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 46-7.
[2] On October 15

an address presented to me by the Pandas. They said that in Hardwar perfect sexual restraint was obligatory. They therefore left Hardwar to the pilgrims and not being celibates, were living outside the prohibited boundary. Needless to say there is not the least sign of this form of self-denial in Hardwar.

And yet there is no reason why Hardwar should not become an ideal place of pilgrimage. There are three educational institutions designed to revive the best of ancient tradition. There are rich *mahants*[1] living in and near Hardwar. If any or all of these institutions will it, they can transform insanitary Hardwar within a measurable distance of time into a model sacred place. Acharya Ramdeva, who presided at the public meeting where I disburdened myself of my grief over the physical and moral insanitation of Hardwar, promised to work wholeheartedly through the Kangri Gurukul which has been shifted to Hardwar to bring about the desired reform. There are too some silent workers doing their best to make things look better. Hardwar uses only swadeshi sugar but imports annually seven lakhs of rupees worth of foreign cloth. There is a drink shop and a butcher's shop in Jwalapur. There is no reason why Hardwar should not stop all drink. A butcher's shop in a Hindu place of pilgrimage is an anomaly. The optimistic Acharya hopes to make Hardwar sanitary and to banish foreign cloth, liquor and butcher's meat from Hardwar. It is a worthy ambition. May it be fulfilled. It will be the truest education for the boys of the Gurukul if to their studies they add this service of the country and religion.

Young India, 31-10-1929

87. HIGH AND LOW

We say this man is high, that is low. Sciences, both physical and metaphysical, tell us that we are all identical both physically and spiritually. Scientists, having analysed the human body, state that our bodies are made up of the same five elements, there being no difference on account of origin, race or sex. The ant and the elephant, the Brahmin and the sweeper, man and woman, the bodies of them all are composed of clay and the other things. The Upanishads and other scriptures teach us that an inward view will reveal only one soul pervading us all. So the subtle-seeing Acharya Sankara has told us that the differences apparent to us

[1] Heads of monasteries

in name and form and such other things are all nothing but *maya*[1]. Others call it *upadhi*[2] and some others call it *moha*[3] too. Everyone admits that this conglomeration of names, forms, etc., is ephemeral.

In spite of a knowledge of these facts, the stress on the high and the low is not as pronounced in any other society as it is in the Hindu society. One gentleman, who has had experience of this, writes:[4]

Two questions have been posed in this letter. Should khadi promoters fall a prey to popular beliefs and observe *kachchi-pakki* differences? Should they admit the distinction between the high and the low? It is my firm belief that, even for the sake of khadi, no khadi lover should give up his principles, resort to incorrect behaviour, or ever have recourse to evil ways even with the best of intentions. Nothing good can ever be accomplished through unclean means. The power that we look for in khadi will be completely destroyed if we resort to undesirable means in our work. The annihilation of the distinction between high and low is a glorious result of khadi.

Now, the second question is why not agitate against this difference of *kachchi-pakki*? The agitation for the spread of khadi can only pertain to khadi. Having given up the difference of *kachchi-pakki* in one's own life, one has nothing more to do in this direction. One must also realize that there can be no greater propaganda than one's own conduct. What one wants others to do, one should do oneself. This would be his most effective propaganda.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 31-10-1929

[1] Illusion

[2] Disguise, cover

[3] Delusion

[4] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the prevailing distinction between *kachchi* and *pakki* food—persons of a higher caste would not partake of *kachchi* food offered by persons of a lower caste but there were no restrictions in accepting *pakki* food—and had asked whether khadi workers should not agitate against such distinctions which strengthened caste prejudices.

88. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MEERUT,
October 31, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letters yesterday. If Raghunath's work can be improved and if it can be extended, that should be done. The defects you have noticed today in our method of education have always been in my mind. This education has not yet become true in spirit because I have always remained at a distance from it and have contented myself with criticizing it. Today we have not found anyone who is intelligent enough and who will devote all his twenty-four hours to it. There are only you, Ramniklal and Narandas. After that I shall place Raojibhai and Shivabhai and Shankarbhai. I have others too in my mind. We can do something only when some of them get ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15829

89. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MEERUT,
November 1, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. The question of keeping a motor-car has often been talked about. Doing so may possibly reduce our expenses, but it will add to our worries. Besides, people will use a car more often than they use one at present, so much so that ultimately, I think, we would have to get rid of it. A car had also been offered as a gift once or twice. The offers were declined deliberately and after discussion with Maganlal and others.

More than a motor-car, we need electricity which is more useful and less expensive. If we have it, we can also have an electric stove. Even then, however, I have not had the courage to get the connection. I do believe, though, that one day we shall have a car and electricity, both. We may even have them during my lifetime and I, too, may accept defeat and vote for them. At

present, however, the inner voice tells me distinctly that we had better not have these things.

We certainly cannot have a zebra in any case. We must use a bullock for our work and incur the expenditure of getting him shod from time to time. And since he is our brother bullock, we should be content with whatever work he gives. The cow being our mother, the bullock surely is our brother. And so long as we recognize the distinction between kinsmen and others, we must tolerate a brother even if he is lame or infirm.

I will write to Jamnadas and get from him the information which you desire. I have so much faith in him that even when he incurs some expenditure which seems excessive I am not disturbed. I know, of course, that too much has been spent on putting up the building for the national school. That at any rate is my view. I had most probably expressed this view in the public meeting itself when I declared the school open. At any rate I did tell Jamnadas about it and he had even admitted his mistake. This is my position. Your position is different. You should certainly ask questions about the smallest details. The questions which you have asked are, therefore, all right.

Exhibit in the museum the cloth received from Farrukhabad.

I have left the letter incomplete here.

Delhi, 1-11-1929[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5469

90. *ALL-PARTIES LEADERS' JOINT STATEMENT*[2]

November 2, 1929

We, the undersigned, have read with careful consideration the Viceregal pronouncement on the question of India's future status among the nations of the world.

[1] The letter was completed at Delhi.

[2] Signed by Gandhiji, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A. Ansari, B. S. Moonje, Sherwani, M. S. Aney, Syed Mahmood, P. Thakurdas, Maharaja of Mahmadabad, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, A. R. Ayyangar, J. M. Sen Gupta, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jagat Narain Lal, G. A. Natesan, Duni Chand, P. Iyre and others. The All-Parties' Conference had met on November 1 and 2, 1929, at Vithalbhai Patel's house to consider the Viceroy's pronouncement of October 31; *vide* Appendix I.

We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declaration, as also the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Constitution suitable for India's needs. But we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the political organizations in the country. We consider it vital for the success of the proposed Conference that:

(a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere;

(b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; and

(c) the representation of progressive political organizations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representation.

Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand, however, that the Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implication of the weighty pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy.

Until the new Constitution comes into existence we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that the relations of the Executive and the Legislatures should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed Conference and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices. We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from today and that the new Constitution is to be but a register of that fact.

Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible.

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

91. SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, DELHI

November 2, 1929

Mahatmaji, in replying to the address, said he was thankful to the Municipality for the honour done to him. He expressed his regret for being late and said that doctors, pleaders and national servants were not masters of their time. He congratulated the Municipality for the work it had done for the city, but he told the City Fathers that the service of the poor alone should be their primary duty. Service to the poor, the needy and the helpless was the only real service that the Municipality could do.

Continuing, he said it was wrong for them to think that national work was out of the municipal scope. To establish Hindu-Muslim unity in the city was their prime function. A municipality which did not perform its duty in this respect, simply because it was not included in its rules and regulations, failed in its duty. He said:

If today the City Fathers of Delhi resolve that they will completely root out discord and disunity from the capital of India they will be doing nothing more than their duty to their country. I am a very poor man and regard myself as a representative of the poor — *Daridranarayana* — and you have presented me with an ivory box of great cost. How can I keep it with me? I present it to you and will charge you sovereigns for it. (Laughter) I have no home and no safe where I can keep this precious box. Being a municipality you cannot give me cash but I put it to auction and ask you to pay liberally. Every rupee of it will give food to 16 helpless women, through spinning-charkha and they will pray for your prosperity. I have sold such boxes everywhere and have charged very heavy sums — up to Rs. 1,000 for a box. Do not deal with me as a Bania, but deal with me as a representative of the poor. (Cheers)

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

92. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, DELHI

November 2, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi . . . thanked the Congress Committee for "the long address", the Mazdur Sabha for "a small address" and the public for the purse.

According to the rules of his tour, said Mahatmaji, the addresses ought not to have been read out but because he allowed the municipal address to be read over and thus "committed a sin", he had to undergo more sins. (Laughter)

In a rather pathetic tone Mahatmaji said:

Delhi, where the great Hakim Ajmal Khan and Swami Shraddhanand once lived, is not nowadays giving the true lead to the country. What can we helpless people do in the absence of the two great souls? I feel pain when I come to Delhi.

Continuing, he said he had not come to Delhi for receiving addresses. He had come to Delhi many times before, but this time he had come for a selfish purpose. (Laughter) He had become greedy, said the Mahatma, for the sake of the poor and was begging money to provide khadi work to the teeming millions.

He felt pain in saying that Delhi had fared worse than even the small towns which had paid him more than Rs. 5,000. The citizens of Delhi, he knew, spent on luxuries and useless articles, but if even after their expenses, they would give him savings, that could have satisfied his hunger. (Laughter)

The ladies and the students had paid their due share, but he expected more from the audience.

Reverting to the subject, Mahatmaji said Delhi was such an important and historic city that if the citizens of Delhi once resolved to unite themselves, it could become an ideal city for the whole country.

Pray to God to relieve us from the curse of disunity and I ask you what can the bold statements of leaders like the one made today achieve if Hindu-Muslim unity is not established?

Delhi if it desired could successfully boycott foreign cloth and give lead to other cities. There were many other trades open to the citizens of Delhi. He also appealed to everyone in the audience to join the Congress as a member so that the Congress purse may no longer remain empty. He appealed to Hindus to do away with the curse of untouchability which was against God's nature and will. He made a strong appeal for giving up liquor saying, "Give up this animal-like habit."

Mahatmaji then referred to the address of the Mazdur Sabha. He said the labourers knew him well and he knew them well, as he too was a labourer. The labourers had every right to get good food and decent dress and it was the duty of labourers to perform their duties truthfully and properly.

I want to do away with the distinction between the master and the servant or labourer. Our ancient civilization teaches us that there is no such status as master and servant but it is that of father and son, and if this relation is adopted there can be no dispute between capital and labour. (Cheers) If the employers regarded themselves as fathers and guardians of labourers and labourers regarded the factories as their own, then both could give an ideal lesson to the world. (Cheers)

He concluded:

Our strength is immense, we need strong determination and well-considered action. I pray to God to bless us with a will and power to enable us to drive away fear and plunge into the field of action so that Mother India be free once again. (Loud applause)

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

93. *HAS "NAVAJIVAN" BECOME DULL?*

A simple-minded lover of *Navajivan* writes:[1]

Reading this letter, I was reminded of the well-known artist's argument. I must wind up *Navajivan* if I were to collect the views of all the critics and act on them. But I wish to do no such thing. My colleagues and I are trying our best not to let *Navajivan* become dull. Not one line is written which will not help the swaraj *yajna*. That there is and may be a difference of opinion about the procedure of this *yajna* is proved by the critic himself. Therefore, differences will always be there. Now I know some readers who have liked the articles which this critic has not liked. Anyone who comprehends the magnitude of the swaraj *yajna* should not find it difficult to appreciate the usefulness of the articles in *Navajivan*. I know it very well that I shall never be able to make all the articles in *Navajivan* interesting to all its

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that articles in *Navajivan* did not reflect the current political ferment in the country. He had criticized many articles published in *Navajivan*, 13-10-1929.

readers. No journal can be run on such a condition. Various features are included in a newspaper to suit the varying tastes of its readership and appreciative readers should be liberal enough not to condemn a feature that does not interest them. They should understand that articles which do not interest them might possibly interest others. For instance, when the above critic's letter criticizing the article "Weaving Craft in Vedic Literature"[1] arrived, I had another suggesting that all such articles be published in book form. Everyone knows that we wore khadi in the olden days or even a hundred years ago. Only a Vedic scholar would know and tell us that khadi was held in high esteem then as now. The activity of spinning was widespread and was regarded as a religious act. How can it be said that knowing it is of no use? I know that many have been inspired to take to spinning because this activity has been praised in the Vedas. The activity of spinning, etc., was so widely prevalent that many of its terms were used to express spiritual ideas. That is no mean thing. There need be no doubt that those things which prove the greatness of our ancient lore and arts and enhance our respect for them lead us on to the path of swaraj.

Now take "A Ruinous Vice"[2]. This writer appears to have no idea how much harm our unhygienic practices in regard to toilet, etc., cause to the people; otherwise he would not have grudged me the quotation or two that I have exiguously cited from the Shastras in support of my stand. In order to eradicate this habit no number of quotations are too many. We have been amply criticized in South Africa for our dirty habits. For this very reason, persons who respect the laws of health keep away from our neighbourhood. This very habit gives rise to a number of diseases and causes loss of crores of rupees. I have not the least doubt that those who inspire us to get rid of this bad habit lead us on to swaraj.

Now about "Death of a Virtuous Woman"[3]. There is no doubt that there may be many such virtuous women in India. But whenever we come across such instances, we should cherish them, remember them and emulate them. If we want to do this, we should publicize a genuine case when we come across one. Is it not desirable that many such women are born in India? I

[1] By Valji Govindji Desai
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 557-8.
[3] By Mahadev Desai

have already written about Jatin Das.[1] He has been praised all over the country and abroad. It is the special dharma of *Navajivan* to sing praises of those poor but heroic men and women whom no one knows nor would care to know. It is my firm belief that we are going to achieve true swaraj or *Ramarajya* with the help of such unknown people. Those who believe that without self-purification such swaraj is impossible should preserve such articles.

Lastly, I had never expected any criticism of the innocent note "Gujaratis' Love"[2]. I rarely praise anyone. It is my belief that those articles which this reader has criticized lend colour to *Navajivan*. Without them it would become drab. I recommend to this correspondent that he read again all the articles he has criticized from my point of view.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1929

94. *MY NOTES*

Thakkar Bapa Crazy with Joy

A true priest always feels happy when the employer does something good or looks well or fares well. Thakkar Bapa is a true priest of the *Antyajas*, Bhils and others and so, if the latter, i.e., his employers, do something good or gains something, he becomes crazy with joy and in his ecstasy he forgets his old age and, if he is ill, even his illness. He experienced this joy in Navasari. The readers of *Navajivan* know that a fine *Antyaja* ashram is functioning there. It is under Thakkar Bapa's management. But he is likely to forget himself when he finds there something good. If someone were to accuse him of self-praise, he has enough self-confidence to swallow the charge. Describing the gathering held under the chairmanship of Bhai Dayalji, Thakkar Bapa writes:[3]

Let us also share his happiness.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1929

[1] For the English version, *vide* pp. 6-7.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 556-7.

[3] The letter is not translated here. It described the participation of Bhangi children and their guardians in the annual gathering.

95. CABLE TO "DAILY EXPRESS"[1]

[*November 3, 1929*][2]

EDITOR,
"DAILY EXPRESS"
LONDON

I DO NOT WISH ADD ANYTHING TO ALL PARTIES JOINT STATEMENT COMPLETED LAST NIGHT BEYOND SAYING THAT I AM DYING TO GIVE AND SECURE TRUE HEART CO-OPERATION IN PLACE CO-OPERATION FALSELY SO CALLED.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14722

96. LETTER TO S. SHANKAR

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKAR,

I was glad to hear from you after a long time.[3] Your letter is very scrappy. I would like you to give me an accurate account of your khaddar work. Are you spinning regularly? Are you making up Hindustani? I observed that you have more time at your disposal than you need and I should have expected you to utilize it for mastering the details of khadi technique and in mastering Hindustani.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SHANKAR
REDDY GARDEN
PERAMBUR (MADRAS)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15206

[1] In reply to the cable: "Your views Viceroy's declaration prospects its acceptance Indian opinion."

[2] From the reference to All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement signed on November 2, 1929

[3] The addressee was doing khadi work in Madras and enrolling Congress members for the Hindustani Seva Dal.

97. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I would like you not to worry over our different points of view. I assure you that I am no less a friend of the Anglo-Indian cause than[2] you can be. Proof of the pudding is in the eating. I hope that whenever the occasion arises I shall not be found wanting but I must act naturally and not artificially.

Yours sincerely,

DR. H. W. B. MORENO
GENERAL PRESIDENT, THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
2 WELLESLY SQUARE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15633

[1] Referring to Gandhiji's letter dated October 3, 1929 and article "The Anglo-Indian", 29-8-1929, *vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 503-4 and 330-1, respectively, the addressee had written: "What I have striven to do for the last quarter of a century is to bring about rapprochement between Anglo-Indians and Indians. You will admit . . . that there is already a better liaison than there was before. One thing remains—and you told me that when we last met—that the Anglo-Indian should not only say: 'I am an Indian', but should be proud of the dignity and should not say it in a half-hearted manner as if forced to admit it. . . . If you and other Indian leaders keep on taunting, or appear to taunt us with every advance we make, that 'we belong to the ruling race', are 'half borns' of that race, etc., etc., it does not help us to come nearer to you; on the other hand the Anglo-Indian crowd will be bound to say: 'There you are, we told you so, you wish to become one with these Indians, and see already what treatment you will be likely to receive, you are already receiving an earnest of it.' . . . It is for you . . . to write again in *Young India*; and to tell all what anxious solicitude the Indian has to draw the Anglo-Indian to his side. . . " (S.N. 15632).

[2] The source has "as".

98. LETTER TO GOVIND MISRA

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR GOVIND BABU,

Mr. Banker has sent me copy of your letter[1] to him regarding Niranjan Babu. Your letter is vague and general. If you have really anything against Niranjan Babu that you can substantiate, you must be absolutely precise and give full particulars which you can establish. When did you first entertain doubts about his honesty?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVIND MISRA
GANDHI SEVASHRAM
CHAMPAPURHAT, DT. CUTTACK

From a microfilm: S.N. 15675

99. LETTER TO C. P. MATHEW

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have intimation from the Ashram of the receipts of the gifts[2] from the students. My message is this:

Real education consists in character-building. Let the students therefore cultivate the taste for character-building side by side with their literary pursuits.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. P. MATHEW
LECTURER, UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ALWAYE (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15693

[1] The addressee had alleged that Niranjan Babu had misused and squandered the funds for khadi work and requested Shankerlal Banker to visit Orissa and investigate into the matter (S.N. 15674).

[2] On the occasion of Gandhiji's sixtieth birthday, the students had sent him an address and a purse of Rs. 30.

100. LETTER TO B. SHIVA RAO

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.[1] Though the money was advanced to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee through me it does not follow that I could therefore today influence its course. In democratic institutions property passes from one charge to another or one influence to another. I have therefore no control over the money today but you may let me know in whose possession the property is today. And if I can do anything to assist you I shall try.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. SHIVA RAO
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADIYAR, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 15703

101. LETTER TO PAPMA RUKMINI

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR PAPMA,

I was pleased beyond measure to receive your well-written letter. Why did you not come to me? If I had the time I would have come over to see you. You must continue to write to me and tell me how you are getting on.

Yours sincerely,

MISS PAPMA RUKMINI
1 NORTH END ROAD, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15714

[1] The addressee had written: ". . . About 8 years ago when there was a lock-out in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras . . . you were generous enough to send Rs. 30,000 to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for the use of the labourers. I am also informed that of this amount, Rs. 15,000 were spent in acquiring a piece of land for the use of the labourers. I do not know what happened to the balance. . . . Our proposal is that the property should be handed over to the Madras Labour Union. . ." (S.N. 15702).

102. LETTER TO S. M. JOSHI

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] The question you raise is very delicate. The best answer I can give you is that you should follow Seth Jamnalalji's advice. Generally speaking, he shares my view. Therefore, when I know that he has a local knowledge of a particular situation I rely upon his judgment and do not form an independent judgment.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. MAHADEV JOSHI
SECRETARY, POONA YOUTH LEAGUE
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15717

103. LETTER TO J. M. SARKAR

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Engaged as I am in continuous touring I do not get many newspapers to read. Even as it was I was not in touch with the newspaper world but now I am even less in such touch. I therefore did not even know that the differences between the two leaders[2] had become so much accentuated as to

[1] The addressee, who was one of the twelve volunteers in the satyagraha to be launched on November 2 for the temple-entry of Harijans, had asked whether the trustees should not be given sufficient time and favourable public opinion be created before launching the satyagraha (S.N. 15716).

[2] Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta. The addressee had written: ". . . In connection with election of office-bearers of Chittagong District Congress Committee recently some workers were assaulted and one Sukhendu Bikash was so brutally assaulted that he had to be taken to Calcutta for treatment and he is on the verge of death. This is attributed to the quarrel amongst our aforesaid two leaders. We had been expecting your interference but as we find you still remain unmoved, we cannot but

lead to a public discussion about them. I share fully your grief over them but I do not know what I can do, circumstanced as I am. I can therefore only satisfy myself with the hope that all will be well and that local pressure will be sufficient to put an end to the differences.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JNANENDRA MOHAN SARKAR
VICE-PRESIDENT
MURSHIDABAD DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BERHAMPORE (BENGAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 15721

104. LETTER TO C. HANUMANTHA RAU

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR HANUMANTHA RAU,

I was pleased to receive your letter. I hope that you are still feeling well both in body and mind. Do make the best and the most use of the time you have at the Ashram and let me have a weekly review of the work done by you from week to week.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. HANUMANTHA RAU
UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15723

approach you and fervently hope that you will be pleased to exercise your kind influence and put a stop to this quarrel and see that amity is established. . . " (S.N. 15720).

[1] The addressee had come to stay in the Ashram for study and experience for six months.

105. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

Your letter was delivered to me last night at half-past eleven. It is quite clear to me that neither the hosiery you mention nor the silk prepared in Kashmir in the manner described by you can be admitted. This question comes up before me almost every year. I would like you to know also that this is not a trade that is in need of any encouragement. The hosiery prepared from indigenous mill yarn is all taken up and so is every yard of silk prepared in Kashmir. The value of our exhibition should be in exhibiting things which have not yet found vogue in the country and not in providing facilities for those whose wares can be sold otherwise without any difficulty. I know that I have not succeeded in persuading everyone to understand this very simple point. What I am anxious for is to keep our exhibition a vehicle for true education. Nothing more and[1] nothing less. I am therefore positive that we must not on any account introduce the commercial spirit in the exhibition. That an exhibition of a purely educative character properly organized may also result in profits being made is true. The very first exhibition organized strictly according to the lines suggested by me was a great success. I wish that the Lahore exhibition could also be of that character. About the choice of Kashmir silks you should be guided entirely by the advice of Sjt. Harjivan Kotak, the A.I.S.A. representative in Srinagar. Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi of the Satyagraha Ashram will be with you in two or three days' time and will stay there for some time.

Yours sincerely,

DR. GOPICHAND
RECEPTION COMMITTEE, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15737

[1] The source has "nor".

106. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter of the 30th ultimo regarding Pallipadu Ashram. You know that I gave from the Rustomji Trust Fund over ten thousand rupees to that Ashram. As far as I recollect some other monies too were given. And then there is the substantial sentiment behind it that Hanumantha Rao[1] gave his life for the Ashram. The money collected at Nellore the people knew would go to the Ashram. Although therefore it may not reach the standard generally fixed by us, I think that it should be supported by the Association to the extent that we have the Nellore money. You probably know also that Nellore has given us very fine weaving and if the men whom Konda Venakatappayya has selected stick to the Ashram we may expect it even to be self-supporting. About Tenali we should await Konda Venkatappayya's reply. I hope you have sent Pt. Deo Sharma Rs. 1,500. I wrote a letter from Hardwar long ago and as Pt. Deo Sharma had not received the money I telegraphed yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKERLAL BANKER
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15741

107. LETTER TO N. M. KHARE

ALIGARH,
November 3, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

By the time this reaches you Chhaganlal would have left. I hardly come to know when a new year[2] sets in and such other occasions. I got some letters from there and came to know about it. All of you should of course take my blessings for granted.

[1] A Congress worker of Nellore who died in March 1926; *vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 171-2.

[2] The Gujarati New-Year Day

I hear the new rule about the kitchen has invited adverse comments. Tell everybody that this is contrary to the basic tenets of the Ashram. The Managing Committee was free to adopt the resolution. It is plain violence to bear a grudge against anybody who takes advantage of this resolution to run a separate kitchen. I wish you would all avoid this. In fact it ought not to be discussed. We should not grudge anyone his weakness, on the contrary we should pity him. We all deserve mutual sympathy. If we are not tolerant towards one another the world shall come to an end. Similarly, if members of an institution, instead of being liberal towards one another indulge in perpetual bickerings just because one does not or cannot do what the other does, the institution would be nowhere.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 208. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

108. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

ALIGARH,
November 4, 1929

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Another good letter from you.

You shall certainly learn the other things you wish to. If you have strength of body and freshness of mind, I would like you to learn as much of all the activities as you possibly can.

Mr. Silcock who knows you and Mr. Wigham motored with me yesterday from Delhi to Aligarh.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4527. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

109. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALIGARH,
November 4, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have just got your letter. How shall I console you? Hearing others describe your state, I said to myself, 'Have I been guilty of putting undue pressure on you?' I have always believed you to be above undue pressure. I have always honoured your resistance. It has always been honourable. Acting under that belief I pressed my suit. Let this incident be a lesson. Resist me always when my suggestion does not appeal to your head or heart. I shall not love you the less for that resistance.

But why are you dejected? I hope there is no fear of public opinion in you. If you have done nothing wrong, why dejection? The ideal of independence is not in conflict with greater freedom. As an executive officer now and President for the coming year, you could not keep yourself away from a collective act of the majority of your colleagues. In my opinion your signature[1] was logical, wise and otherwise correct. I hope therefore that you will get over your dejection and resume your unfailing cheerfulness.

The statement you may certainly make. But there is no hurry about it at all.

Here are copies of two cables[2] just received. Please show them to Father too.

If you feel like talking things over with me, do not hesitate to catch me wherever you like.

I hope to see Kamala hale and hearty when I reach Allahabad.

If you can do wire that the blues are over.

Yours,
BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 76

[1] On the All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement of November 2, 1929

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 87 and footnote 1 to "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 14-11-1929.

110. LETTER TO N. M. KHARE

November 4, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

I hope Manu is now all right. I suppose the prayers must have been reorganized. It is absolutely necessary to preserve the solemnity of the prayer. The theft of Kalavati's[1] ornaments does not appear to be the act of an outsider. Howsoever it might have happened, do caution everybody that they should keep no valuables with them.

We were looking for the meaning of the word *ap*[2] in the trio of *apbala*, *tapabala* and *bahubala*[3]. . . . Please incorporate this correction if you have not done so and ask everyone else to do it in their own copies. We ought to get our Hindi *bhajans* revised with the help of some Hindi expert.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 209. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

111. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

ALIGARH,
November 4, 1929

BHAI PANNALAL,

I was glad to have your letter. I see no error in your reasoning. If your experiment succeeds, many young men will certainly benefit. You have my blessings for its success and I also trust that it will succeed, for I have such faith in you. I am sure you are keeping a record of the experiment and proper accounts.

You are bound to succeed in your effort to observe celibacy because both of you are sincere, both are persevering and both

[1] Wife of Kashinath Trivedi, an inmate of the Ashram

[2] A word from a popular Hindi *bhajan* of Surdas; *ap* is a corrupt form of *aap* which is derived from the Sanskrit *atman* meaning self.

[3] Strength of self, strength of penance and strength of arm

possess a good measure of self-control. Success is certain for him who perseveres. That is the assurance the *Gita* gives and it cannot fail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3098

112. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

ALIGARH,
Silence Day, November 4, 1929

SISTERS,

Do not expect long letters from me at present. May you all prosper during the New Year.

It is a matter of shame that Kalavati's ornaments have disappeared. But I do not feel sorry for her. Any man or woman who keeps jewellery or other valuables with him or her is untrue to the code of the Ashram, and should not feel unhappy if those things are stolen. Let us take a lesson from this incident and look into our boxes. Everybody should have the confidence that he will get, whenever he wants it, what he has kept as deposit with the Ashram.

It is good that you have made a definite rule about the kitchen. There should be no further discussion about the matter. Any family which has been living in the Ashram for many years may run a separate kitchen if it is permitted to do so, and nobody should grudge it this concession.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3708

113. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

ALIGARH,
November 4, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

Vallabhbhai met me in Delhi. I see some difference between the account he gave and the one given by you. As Vallabhbhai puts it, since the officials gave an apology the Thakore Saheb suggested to the President to discontinue the inquiry and because Manilal did not do so, an order was issued to stop the inquiry.

If this is true, I think your struggle was unjustified. Fight on if the struggle is for a pure cause.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9191

114. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

ALIGARH,
Silence Day, November 4, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have your letters. Never worry, come what may. We have done our duty when we have done what we can. He is the Lord of whatever merit or fault results from it. Do give up the worrying that you always do.

Wait till Nath[1] comes there. Now you cannot leave your work to go anywhere.

You must eat some fruit. You cannot coerce your body to build itself.

I shall see if I can accommodate Lakshmi in some other place when she comes.

Kalavati has lost her ornaments owing to her own grave fault. It was a good riddance, though it is painful that someone has stolen them. But thefts are bound to be there as long as our *tapascharya*[2] falls short.

Don't brood over the fast. We shall talk over it when I go over there; but you need not bother about this either. It is all for your good that you could not complete the fast. If you had gone through it successfully it would have been an excuse for some pride. God has been kind to you; He has spared you this occasion for pride. Even Narada had his pride smashed when he was puffed up. Please do understand that a fast in itself is no miracle.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 83

[1] Kedarnath Kulkarni, Kishorelal Mashruwala's guru and addressee's guide

[2] Self-suffering as moral discipline

115. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

ALIGARH,
Silence Day [November 4, 1929][1]

CHI. KALAVATI,

The loss of your ornaments is a matter not for sorrow but for rejoicing. You broke the Ashram rules, therefore you have been taught a lesson by God. The ornaments were of no use to you. If you would but listen to me you would take off even the ornaments that you are wearing, sell them and deposit the proceeds in a bank. You will be happier. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5292

116. SPEECH AT MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH[2]

November 4, 1929

The Mahatma . . . apologized for his inability to speak standing since God was not pleased to keep him in normal strength. He asked his hearers to pray to God to keep him deserving of the honour they had conferred upon him and to keep his heart unspoiled. He said he had known from his very boyhood that Hindu-Muslim unity was an integral part of Indian nationhood and he believed that national liberty was meaningless if Hindus and Muslims could not live together open-heartedly with complete harmony. He did not like that the two big communities should oppress the minority communities or should make them even feel that Hindu-Muslim unity was a bad thing. He rather wished the unity of the two to be a model for the whole world and a giver of peace. He agreed with the late Sir Syed[3] that Hindus and Muslims were the two eyes of Mother India. He exhorted the students to be as true and sincere soldiers of India as they were true sons of Islam. He said further that having read and studied much of Islam and having long lived and even dined with Muslims, he knew the Islamic religion well. He

[1] From Gandhiji's presence at Aligarh and another letter to the addressee dated November 14, 1929 from Kalakankar; *vide* "Letter to Kalavati Trivedi", 14-11-1929.

[2] *Vide* also "The U. P. Tour–IX", sub-title, "In Aligarh", 14-11-1929.

[3] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

advised the students not to be a prey to ease and luxury since only he could serve the country well whose heart was simple and whose habits were simple. He further exhorted the students to pity the lot of the millions of poor people who were having hardly one meal a day. In his opinion God could not be pleased with them merely by their daily readings of the Koran or by their daily prayers. The real thing that could please God was their practical mercy and real compassion for the millions of their distressed brethren. He, therefore, urged them to encourage khaddar.

The Leader, 7-11-1929

117. LETTER TO N. M. KHARE

ALIGARH,
November 5, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

Chhaganlal must have left by now. I shall therefore not reply to his letters. I hope Manu is keeping up the steady recovery in health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 210. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

118. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MUTTRA,
November 6, 1929

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

DEEPLY APPRECIATE MORAL DIFFICULTY YOUR SECOND LETTER[1]. BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO HURRY ARRIVING AT DECISION. RESIGNATION[2] MUST NOT BE PRESSED. IF STILL AGITATED MEET ME WHEREVER YOU LIKE.[3]

GANDHI

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.
[2] Of the Secretaryship of the A.I.C.C.
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 8-11-1929.

119. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. If the lady wants to have some experience of life at the Ashram she can certainly do so. If she arrives will she come single or will it be the couple? I have already sent the Introduction that Vaijnath had asked for. Till now my health has been quite all right. I hope to leave Agra for Sabarmati on the 24th evening *via* metre gauge. The 25th falls on a Monday. I hope you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6068. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

120. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI[1],

I have your letter. I think that the Ashram's well-wishers who wish to subscribe have a right to get a copy. It is not anything confidential. I believe that a copy of it should be placed in the Ashram Reading Room. It should be possible to discuss fully the internal problems which may be of interest to many others. If the litho can be obtained cheap, I think it is worth buying. I regard it desirable that the *Ashram Samachar* should include the news about internal developments in institutions run on the same lines as the Ashram. If we wish to give such news, the size should be enlarged. This of course would add very much to the editor's work. He would have to give at least seven hours

[1] An inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram; he assisted in the maintenance of accounts of the khadi section.

a week to the work. If he cannot at present spare that time, we should give up the idea of enlarging the size.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9495

121. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

BHAI RAOJIBHAI,

I got your letter. When we have several tasks on hand and are not in a position to do full justice to all of them, we should arrange them in order of their priority and assign each its place so that we can know which task can be dropped. And if all the tasks are of equal importance, we should drop those which are beyond our capacity to manage. The latrines, the kitchen and the accounts—these three I regard as having the highest priority. If the accounts are not correctly maintained, money will be wasted, our reputation will suffer and our conscience will be troubled. I have often explained that care of the latrine and of the kitchen are aspects of the same task. If either of them is imperfectly done, bodily health would suffer. I have also shown that scavenging and cooking involve important moral and scientific principles. A cook doing his or her duty religiously will not only cook the food well but will also observe the principles of good health, that is, of *brahmacharya*. And a scavenger doing his or her duty religiously will not merely bury the night-soil but also observe the stools passed by each and inform each person about the state of his or her health. We have with us neither such an ideal scavenger nor such an ideal cook, but I have no doubt that the Ashram should produce a crop of them. There are several defects about the kind of tank you suggest. We cannot of course build a pukka tank. We may dig a temporary pit. But we can think about this further only when I go over there. In any case this much is certain, that the shallower the pit the better. The first nine inches of the soil is exceedingly valuable. It is within this depth that the germs decomposing the stools, etc., live. The effect of the sun's rays also is the greatest up to that depth. Moreover, a shallow pit is no obstacle to the use of night-soil as manure wherever required. Instead of burying night-soil where we do

at present, we may adopt this method. We should get two pits made side by side, each eighteen inches deep and having a surface area of 36 sq. yards. After one pit is filled with night-soil we might start using the other for the purpose and, after the night-soil in the first pit has been transformed into manure, take the manure out leaving the pit to dry up until the second pit gets filled with night-soil buried there. This method will serve the purpose behind Somabhai's suggestion and largely remove the difficulty pointed out by you. The lavatories should remain as they are, and we should master the art of keeping them as clean as possible. For this one of us must shoulder the responsibility. The working men will go on changing from time to time, and it is necessary that they should. It is, therefore, essential to have one inspector. It is not enough that he take a round in the morning and inspect the places. He should inspect the lavatories at least thrice a day. For maintaining greater cleanliness, it may also be necessary to have more buckets.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8986

122. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. You have accepted a fairly heavy responsibility[1]. Learn the art of preserving your health while discharging that responsibility. You must know for certain that so long as you have not learnt that art, you will not have cultivated perfect non-attachment. Chhaganlal is likely to reach here tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4147

[1] Managership of the Ashram during the absence of Chhaganlal Joshi who had gone to Lahore

123. THE U.P. TOUR–VIII[1]

On the Plains

Saharanpur was the first station visited[2] on the plains. Besides the usual meetings of men and women there was the students' meeting. There was a meeting of the students and teachers of the Kashiram High School who together gave Gandhiji the largest purse of the tour comparing their numbers with the numbers of the other schools and colleges. This evoked from Gandhiji a well-deserved compliment as also the frank admission in their address that the khadi he saw them wear at the meeting was only purchased for the occasion and they assured him that what they had commenced they proposed to continue. The wearing of khadi for the occasion only has taken place everywhere without there being any secret about it. But this was the first occasion when a frank and penitent admission of weakness was made and a definite assurance of shedding it given. I was told that the head master and the staff were earnest men and that they fully meant to carry out the promise they had made. Taking Deoband on the way the next halt was at Muzaffarnagar. From Muzaffarnagar we went to Meerut, taking Kandhla, Shamli and several other places on the way. We settled down to a heavy programme in the Meerut district.

With the Prisoners

We reached Meerut at 11 a.m.[3] and had to tackle a ladies' meeting and a public meeting. But Meerut was the place where the famous Communist trial is taking place. Though as he remarked he was neither a Communist nor any other ist, he could not miss seeing the prisoners if he was permitted. The Superintendent readily granted the permission and though it meant considerable interference with his rest and the day's programme Gandhiji went to the jail precisely at 2 p.m. and gave himself a happy 1½ hours' time with the prisoners. The party squatted on the coir matting that was spread on the floor. The prisoners' cell was an open well-ventilated rectangle studded with charpais for them.

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 40.
[2] On October 25, 1929
[3] On October 27, 1929

The prisoners who were quite cheerful and gay greeted Gandhiji with 'we frankly did not expect you to visit us'. Gandhiji at once replied, 'Of course you did not. You do not know me. I may have my differences with you. You may even cause me trouble at Congress meetings but my creed teaches me to go out of my way to show regard to my opponents and thus demonstrate to them that I can mean no ill to them. Moreover in the present case by coming here I wanted in my humble way to show in a practical manner that this prosecution is wrong and that in any event it is atrocious that you should be put under a heavy handicap by being tried in an inconvenient place like Meerut where you cannot get the facilities obtainable in the presidency towns for conducting a proper defence.' There was quite a variety of topics which the prisoners discussed with Gandhiji. They wanted to know the implications of the Calcutta resolution about Dominion Status. They wanted to know also why he was silent on Jatindra Nath's self-immolation, about strikes, etc. Interesting though the whole of the conversation was, I must not attempt to give the whole of it. Suffice it to say that Gandhiji kept them laughing the whole of the hour and a half he was with them. One could see that he was loath to part with them and when he could stay no longer he told them that if they were not free men before the end of December he expected to join them early next year.

I must omit many other interesting events of the Meerut tour.

Gandhi Ashram

Chaudhuri Raghubir Narain Singhji is an enthusiast in the national cause and a lover of khadi. He was in charge of the tour in Meerut and the surrounding villages. He had therefore prepared as heavy a programme as Gandhiji's health could stand. Out of the numerous engagements in Meerut itself and the rich experiences gained in the numerous villages visited I have time and space for picking out only two things. The first is Acharya Kripalani's Ashram and the second is the visit to the Chaudhuri Saheb's own village Asaura.

The Ashram which is named Gandhi Ashram was established in 1920 in Banaras when some students of the Hindu University left it and with Professor Kripalani established an Ashram. Those who have remained staunch throughout have developed into good businessmen. The members took up khadi work in 1921. The production then amounted to Rs. 48 and the sales to Rs. 3,011 [*sic*]. For the year ending October last the production was Rs. 129,189-8-0. The sales were Rs. 171,512-13-6. No wonder the

Ashram has purchased property worth Rs. 35,000 away from the business centre and on spacious ground. I regard it as a necessary and sound investment. Every available room is occupied. The Ashram has production, sales, dyeing, printing, washing and calendering departments. Its prints are day by day increasing in popularity, as indigenous art is being introduced in its prints and innovations are being continuously made. The price of one yard of 36" khadi in 1921 was as. 9. Today that quantity but improved in quality sells at as. 5. And yet they expect to reduce the price. The Ashram prices compare favourably with the ruling prices throughout India. It has 29 permanent workers, 14 apprentices and 11 servants. The salary paid during the year was Rs. 12,123-4-6 averaging about Rs. 18 per month per head. This includes the apprentices. No one gets or can get more than Rs. 50 per month. Only three workers are taking Rs. 50 each. Needless to say most of these workers would in the open market any day get double the amount they are drawing today. Some of them were brilliant University men.

Who can say that the khadi or the Ashram has not a big future? What is needed are workers with grit, self-sacrifice and ability. There is illimitable scope for them.

IN ASAURA

In Asaura of course there is a strong khadi atmosphere. It would be strange if such was not the case in the zamindari of a khadi lover such as the Chaudhuri Saheb is. But what delighted Gandhiji most was the discovery made in the ordinary course that the family *mandir*[1] which is open to the public has been open since the days of Non-co-operation to the so-called untouchables. And I have understood from the Chaudhuri Saheb himself that the throwing open the portals of the *mandir* to the untouchables has not in any way affected the attendance of the touchables. Like the Lakshmi Narayan temple of Seth Jamnalal of Wardha this too has an elegantly built structure. It adjoins the beautiful garden belonging to the zamindari. There is a precious courtyard attached to it and the courtyard contains a school attended by the untouchables. Here is an example for the zamindars to copy. There are thousands of temples in the thousands of zamindaris. There is nothing to prevent the zamindars from throwing open their temples to the untouchables and in other ways befriending them as the Chaudhuri Saheb has done.

Young India, 7-11-1929

[1] Temple

124. *WHAT MAY YOUTH DO?*

I got now some time ago a letter on behalf of the Agra Youth League asking the following question:

> We are in the dark with regard to our main activities in future. We wish to co-operate with the peasants and neighbours of the locality but no practical method seems to be at hand. We hope that you will kindly suggest some practical way out of the difficulty. We think ours is not the only institution facing this difficulty. Accordingly it is highly desirable that you should suggest a definite solution of this problem through the columns of *Navajivan* or *Young India*.

The address of the Youth League at Gorakhpur[1] contained a similar sentiment and also asked how to face the bread problem that stared the youth in the face. In my opinion the two questions are intertwined and both can be solved, if the youth can be persuaded to make village life their goal rather than city life. We are inheritors of a rural civilization. The vastness of our country, the vastness of the population, the situation and the climate of the country have, in my opinion, destined it for a rural civilization. Its defects are well known but not one of them is irremediable. To uproot it and substitute for it an urban civilization seems to me an impossibility, unless we are prepared by some drastic means to reduce the population from three hundred million to three or say even thirty. I can therefore suggest remedies on the assumption that we must perpetuate the present rural civilization and endeavour to rid it of its acknowledged defects. This can only be done if the youth of the country will settle down to village life. And if they will do this they must reconstruct their life and pass every day of their vacation in the villages surrounding their colleges or high schools and those who have finished their education or are not receiving any should think of settling down in villages. The All-India Spinners' Association with all its multifarious branches and institutions that have sprung up under its protection affords an easy opportunity to the students to qualify themselves for service and to maintain themselves honourably if they will be satisfied with the simple life which obtains in the villages. It maintains nearly 1500 young men of the country

[1] Gandhiji was in Gorakhpur district between October 4 and 7.

drawing anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 150, and it can take in almost an unlimited number of earnest, honest and industrious young men who will not be ashamed of manual work. Then there are national educational institutions affording a similar though limited scope, limited only because national education is not in fashion. I therefore commend to the attention of all earnest young men who are dissatisfied with their existing surroundings and outlook to study these two great national institutions which are doing silent but most effective constructive work and which present the youth of the country with an opportunity both for service and for honourable maintenance. Whether however they avail themselves of these two great nation-building agencies or do not, let them penetrate the villages and find an unlimited scope for service, research and true knowledge. Professors would do well not to burden either their boys or girls with literary studies during the vacation but prescribe to them educative outings in the villages. Vacations must be utilized for recreation, never for memorizing books.

Young India, 7-11-1929

125. KHADDAR FRANCHISE

Lala Har Dayal Nag writes a letter on the working of the khaddar clause in the Congress constitution. I take from that letter the following relevant extract[1]:

> I was the President of the Tippera District Congress Committee of which the annual general meeting came off on the 27th ultimo. The meeting was timed to be held at Comilla. . . . Just after my arrival I was asked by some friends not to give any ruling on the dress of the members and to allow all, including those who are not habitual wearers of khaddar, to vote. I refused to comply. . . . This did not satisfy my friends and I was asked not to preside at the meeting. I could find no other way of satisfying them than by resigning the presidentship. I accordingly wrote out a letter of resignation and handed it over to them.
>
> I did not go to the meeting. . . . My letter of resignation was not placed before it. One of the Vice-Presidents was voted to the chair. After the disposal of some preliminary matters objection was raised to the non-khaddar dress of many members present. The president of the meeting ruled that the clause "habitual wearers of khaddar" did not require the members to wear khaddar at the time of voting. This ruling

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

produced an unhappy division among the members present. . . . Those who thought that none but the habitual wearers of khaddar could vote seceded from the meeting and held a separate meeting. . . . The questions that arise from these facts are: (1) Is the ruling of the president of the original meeting about the khaddar wearing rule of the Congress correct? (2) If not, does the violation of the Congress rule invalidate the Committee formed at the original meeting? (3) If this Committee be found invalid, is the Committee formed by the seceders valid? In my humble opinion these are very important questions. I therefore request you to answer them through the pages of *Young India*, if possible.

If what Lala Har Dayal Nag says is true, it betrays an unfortunate state of affairs. Apart from the question whether khaddar wear should be obligatory or not on Congress voters at Congress meetings, it seems to me to be an extraordinary procedure for anyone to suggest to the President-elect not to give any ruling which is entirely within his province. Stranger still is the procedure said to have been adopted at the meeting itself where Lala Har Dayal Nag's letter was not even read. Such proceedings unperceivably but unmistakably weaken the hold of the Congress on the public and make the immediate Congress workers lax in discipline and manners. So far as the working of the khaddar clause is concerned, I cannot help saying that the ruling of the chair was totally wrong. The plain grammatical, common sense meaning of the clause is that a voter should not only be wearing khaddar from head to foot at the time of voting but that he should be a habitual wearer of khaddar. I am certainly of opinion that if any members were allowed to vote in breach of the rule, the proceedings of the Committee were void *pro tanto*. I do not think that the Committee itself became invalid by reason of an irregular procedure adopted at a particular meeting. That a recalcitrant Committee might be disbanded in the exercise of the extreme powers of the President of the Working Committee is another matter. The seceders could not form a Committee of their own without the previous sanction of the Working Committee of the Congress. Such is my opinion as a layman. If Lala Har Dayal Nag wishes a proper ruling on the points raised by him he should, in due course, refer the matter to the President.

But Lala Har Dayal Nag's letter raised too the important question of the utility of the khaddar clause in the Congress constitution. My own personal view is well known. Khaddar has caught the imagination of the masses as no other constructive effort has. That the town-dwellers who flock to the Congress

meetings flout the clause is to me a reason for stiffening the procedure for enforcing the rule, not its abrogation. But my opinion should most decidedly be set aside if the majority of those who are running the Congress machinery do not like the rule or do not intend to carry it out. I have been told that the clause is retained only for my sake and that if the members could be persuaded to think that I shall not be hurt by its removal, it will go today. Those who think so pay me a poor compliment, do themselves an injustice and the Congress a positive disservice. For the sake of a cause we must dare to offend even the most eminent among us. In my case there is no question of offending me. Those who will not, for my sake, do what they think proper, do not know me and most certainly offend me.

Young India, 7-11-1929

126. CLOSE UP

I am given to understand that the Punjab which is to have the honour of holding the Congress session this year is still not united and that the party spirit runs high. If the information given to me is true, I hope that the responsible men and women belonging to different parties will put the nation before party, put the honour of the country before self, pocket false pride and bring together under the Congress banner all who may be under their influence including themselves. The Punjab must rally round the Congress and its young President and show by exemplary manners that we are well able to subject ourselves to discipline and thus govern ourselves by working harmoniously under one great national organization.

Young India, 7-11-1929

127. NOTES

IS IT TRUE?

The manifesto[1] which bears the signatures of Pandit Motilalji, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Besant, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, M. Mahomed Ali, and other leaders of public opinion is based upon trust. The signatories have, in spite of indications to the contrary, put on the Viceroy's statement[2] about Dominion Status a construction which may prove to have been wholly unwarranted. The Dominion Status contemplated by the Viceroy's declaration may be as indefinite and illusory as the 'responsible Government' of 1919. There can however be no doubt about Lord Irwin's sincerity. Even therefore if the high expectations raised by the Viceregal pronouncement are not realized, the reciprocation of the sincerity evinced by the manifesto will have done no harm to the country. It will provide further justification for any strong action that the Congress may feel called upon to take at its forthcoming session. Had the signatories rejected what appears to be the Viceregal advance, they might easily have put themselves in the wrong. But let us entertain the hope that the pronouncement is all that the signatories believe it to be and that a new era is about to dawn upon unhappy India.

There may be no mistaking the intentions of the signatories. Stripped of the courtesy becoming a document of that nature, the co-operation promised there is conditional upon certain events happening. They are all easy of fruition, if the interpretation put upon Lord Irwin's pronouncement is correct. For if the contemplated Conference is to result in India obtaining a charter of Dominion Status, there must be amnesty, the composition of the Conference must be thoroughly nationalistic and the administration must from now correspond as nearly as possible to Dominion Status. The charter to be true must be simply a register of an accomplished fact. The face of the land will not be suddenly changed at the moment the charter is signed. If the Viceroy's statement signifies a real change of heart, everything is easy. Then Dominion Status is from now. If it means no change of heart,

[1] *Vide* pp. 80-1.
[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

any charter however tempting it may be to look at will be but a piece of waste paper to be thrown into the basket designed for such papers.[1]

Young India, 7-11-1929

128. VIRTUE OF SELF-RESTRAINT

Madam Clara Burger-von Dubu who signs herself as "daughter and widow of a German University professor, whose husband fell in the War 1916, mother of two sons, two daughters, for some time here (Italy) in a Dutch friend's house, to whom she owes the knowledge of *Young India*" writes as follows from Italy:[2]

> Will you allow a mother to add some words to your article "Influence of Attitudes", *Young India* 37?[3] I perfectly agree with you that "birth-control by contraceptives is race suicide," . . . No action has so deep an influence and far reaching in consequences as this terribly abused act destined to create "Images of God". In it we ought to conceive the Mystery of Incarnation in love, not in animal instinct, as a consecration of spirit, soul and body.
>
> Thus marriage becomes a sacrament, the highest religion, in which the greatest contrasts are blended: crossing and crucifixion—life and death.

Young India, 7-11-1929

129. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

From the addresses I am receiving in the United Provinces I have come to know many things. In this article I wish to consider them only from the point of view of language. I have with me three examples from which I choose the following sentences[4]:

These three are examples of Hindi or Hindustani, that is, the national language. One is stuffed with only Persian-Arabic words which an average Hindu will not be able to follow. Another is replete with Sanskrit words which an average Muslim can never understand. The third is such that it can be grasped by any average Hindu or Muslim. Here, Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian

[1] *Vide* also "Conditions for Co-operation", 10-11-1929.
[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXI, pp. 411-4.
[4] Not translated here

words do not appear to be deliberately avoided or chosen. If we wish to make Hindi the national language, if Hindus and Muslims both wish to build up unity, we cannot deliberately banish Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian words. That is to say, while writing or speaking the language, we should not harbour hatred in our minds towards each other or towards each other's speech. On the other hand, there should be love for each other. When a Muslim finds a Hindu using Persian-Arabic words, he feels pleased. In the same manner, the Hindu's regard for the Muslim grows when he aptly uses Sanskrit words also on occasion.

By adopting suitable words from all the three languages Hindi is enriched and gains in prestige; the language becomes sweeter. The fact is, if we do not harbour hatred for a particular language, we shall not feel embarrassed in borrowing from it to enrich and develop our language.

Shri Ramnaresh Tripathi writes in the preface to his book *Gramya Geet*[1]:

> The number of words most used in the essays and books that are written in Hindi nowadays will not exceed three hundred according to my estimate. Within so few words is all Hindi learning circumscribed. We think, write essays or books and give speeches within this narrow compass. How many things used every day in our homes, fields and factories have no Hindi names and how many ideas have no appropriate Hindi words?

If this is true, it is very sad and shameful; it is a sign of poverty of thought. It is said that Shakespeare used 20,000 words in his works, and Milton 10,000 words. What a wealth of words in their language and what poverty in ours! In spite of this state of affairs, if we wish to make our national language glorious, then, at least for its own sake we must increase our knowledge. It is not a matter of shame to borrow words from another language and make them our own. It is shameful only when we do not know the words current in our language and therefore use those of another; for example, when we forget the word *ghar* and say house, or employ mother for *mata*, father for *pita*, husband for *pati* and wife for *patni*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 7-11-1929

[1] *Vide* p. 60.

130. LETTER TO M. MUJEEB

CAMP BRINDABAN,
November 7, 1929

MY DEAR MUJEEB[1],

I had a chat with Dr. Ansari about you in Delhi and Dr. Ansari undertook to speak to your father himself and ensure your allowance from him. He asked me not to worry about you. In Aligarh I made it a special point to speak to your brother[2]. It was there that I discovered that he was Sohaila's[3] husband. And Sohaila to me is like my own daughter. Such is the intimacy I have the privilege to enjoy with the Tyabji family. I had therefore much less hesitation to speak to your brother than I would have had without a knowledge of this relationship. To my agreeable surprise I found your brother to be most receptive and reasonable. I did not need to argue with him at all. As soon as I mentioned the matter he said he would do as I asked him to and he agreed that you should be supported by your father and brothers. He seemed to be quite proud of you and proud of the fact that you were serving the Jamia. Sohaila was present during the whole of the conversation. I mentioned Rs. 150 as that was the sum you thought would be enough for you. Devdas just now tells me that your brother told him subsequent to the conversation with me that Rs. 150 might not be enough for you. I hope however that you will so regulate your life as to make Rs. 150 pay your way. If you are now restored to health completely I would like you to go to Delhi at once and take up your work. Your brother asked me to write to your father which I am doing today.[4]

I must not omit one thing your brother wanted me to speak to you about. He told me that you did not listen to him in anything. I said in reply that such could not be the case unless it was on matters of vital principle. Anyway you know exactly what Habib means. I would like you to write to him if you at all feel

[1] Joined the Jamia Millia in 1926; became its Vice-Chancellor in 1948.

[2] Professor Mohammed Habib

[3] Abbas Tyabji's daughter

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Mohamad Nasim", 8-11-1929.

up to it a sweet letter. I must confess that by his humility and yet dignified bearing he captured me entirely.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15749

131. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BRINDABAN,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter[1]. You must have got my wire[2]. You must not resign just now. I have not the time to argue out my point. All I know is that it will affect the national cause. There is no hurry and no principle at stake. About the crown[3], no one else can wear it. It never was to be a crown of roses. Let it be all thorns now. If I could have persuaded myself to wear it, I would have done so at Lucknow[4]. The contingency I had in mind when I would be forced to wear it was not of this type. One of them was your arrest and increased repression. But let us reserve the whole of this for calm and detached discussion when we meet.

Meanwhile may God give you peace.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 77-8

132. LETTER TO NIDHALAL NIDHISH

CAMP BRINDABAN,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and your gifts for which I thank you. I cannot withhold from you my grief that you had insisted on my calling at your house to receive your gift. I thought that it was decided that I was not to stop near your house and I was absolutely taken aback when the car suddenly stopped. I felt that it was some other place where, for some reason unknown to me, the car was stopped. The companion who was with me was not present at the time.

1 *Vide* Appendix II.
2 *Vide* p. 101.
3 Presidentship of the Congress
4 At the A.I.C.C. meeting held on 28-9-1929

The other companions had come to the conclusion that it would be wrong to make me stop at your door or anywhere else for receiving single donations when you could have easily paid your donation at the public meeting or sent your donation to the place of my sojourn. You can easily imagine the embarrassment caused to me if I was called upon to go to individual houses to receive purses of Rs. 21. You can understand how physically impossible it would be if such requests were multiplied and there is no reason why others should not do what one man takes in his head a fancy for doing. I must confess to you that had I known that I was being taken to the house where it was decided I was not to be taken I would have refused to receive the purse. Now of course the thing is finished. My letter to you is for future guidance.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NIDHALAL NIDHISH
NIDHISH NIKETAN, ALIGARH

From a photostat: S.N. 15751

133. LETTER TO MOHAMAD NASIM

CAMP BRINDABAN,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had the pleasure of meeting your son Prof. Habib in Aligarh and it gave me the greatest pleasure to understand that he was my old friend and co-worker Abbas Tyabji's son-in-law. I knew that Sohaila was married to a Lucknow man who was a professor in Aligarh but I did not know that he was also Mujeeb's brother. I had a chat with him about Mujeeb. You may know that I dote on Mujeeb. He is one of the purest minded young men whom I have the pleasure of knowing. Mujeeb is an acquisition to the Jamia. The Jamia is passing through a financial crisis. Many professors have cut down their honorarium to Rs. 75 per month. Hitherto you have been good enough not only to give Mujeeb to Jamia but to support him. Mujeeb told me that you had now refused to give him your support. Will you not reconsider your decision and not only bless Mujeeb in his work at the Jamia but also give him all the financial assistance he may need which I was glad to be informed you were well able to do? If Mujeeb was not working in a poor national institution I would fully appreciate your refusal to support him for I do believe in parents not pam-

pering their children. But here it is not a question of supporting a pampered boy but supporting an institution to which he has the spirit of sacrifice enough to dedicate himself without reserve. Professor Habib was good enough to assure me that he would have no objection to supporting Mujeeb. It will be a great relief to me and I am sure to Jamia staff to feel the assurance that you would support Mujeeb. Yes, I am anxious to have your reply as early as you can send it to me. I give you my dates during the week following:

November	10th and 11th	Shahjahanpur
,,	12th	Lakhimpur or Sitapur
,,	13th	Rae Bareili
,,	14th	Kalakankar
,,	15th-18th	Allahabad

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMAD NASIM, ESQ.
ADVOCATE
BUTLER ROAD, LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 15752

134. TELEGRAM TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

SHANTIKUMAR
SHANTIBHAVAN
PEDDAR ROAD
BOMBAY

JUST RECEIVED JAMNALALJI'S WIRE ADVISING FATHER'S[1] DEATH. DEEPEST SYMPATHY YOUR GRIEF. CONSOLE MOTHER[2] MY BEHALF. SHE AND YOU AND OTHERS MUST USE YOUR FAITH IN GOD SUSTAIN YOU. MAY GOD ENABLE YOU TO BEAR BURDEN. JAMNALALJI WANTS ME ENQUIRE IF YOU NEED HIS ASSISTANCE ADVICE. TOUR PROGRAMME IN "YOUNG INDIA".

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15754

[1] Narottam Morarjee who died on November 4
[2] Addressee's grandmother

135. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

SETH JAMNALALJI
WARDHA

JUST TELEGRAPHED SHANTIKUMAR CONDOLENCES AND YOUR OFFER. CONSIDER YOUR PRESENCE ALLAHABAD[1] VERY ADVISABLE THOUGH NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY. ATTEND IF POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15755

136. LETTER TO ALBERT M. TODD

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 25th September. I do not remember having told you in my letter[2] that we would be having an election campaign in the spring and at that time I would be glad to receive financial help from you. It may interest you to know that I do not take part either directly or indirectly in any election campaign, being wholly against ourselves having anything to do with election campaigns till we have got redress according to our demands. I enclose herewith a copy of the latest number of *Young India* which I am editing. This will give you some notion of my activities. And if you are still further interested you can have upon application to Mr. S. Ganesan, Printer and Publisher, Triplicane, Madras, a copy of my writings in book form.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT M. TODD, ESQ.
KALAMAZOO
MICHIGAN (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 15600

[1] For the A.I.C.C. meeting scheduled for November 16, 1929

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, p. 189.

137. LETTER TO GIRIRAJKISHORE

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR GIRIRAJ,

I have your letter. I hope by this time you have no fever and that you have regained your whole strength. Your description of the discourse with the Magistrate does not show dignity about it. I should resent the word charity. Though we are under a vow of non-possession and poverty we do not live on charity. You may discuss this problem with Kishorilal and accept his judgment implicitly in this matter. I am still keeping well. You must tell me what progress you have made in your work.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIRIRAJ
SURAJMAL ONKARMAL'S CHAWL
MATUNGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15619

138. LETTER TO PEN HASSELROT

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the sum mentioned in it by you.[1] I enclose herewith the form sent by you duly receipted. The second volume of [*The Story of*] *My Experiments with Truth* may be translated by you whenever you wish to upon the same terms as the first.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. 1
PEN HASSELROT, ESQ.
POSTGIRO 675, STOCKHOLM 7

From a microfilm: S.N. 15652

[1] The addressee had written that the translation of the first volume of *An Autobiography* had been published and had sent a sum of £11-0-5d.

139. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

I have your letter. As there was nothing particular to write to you about I have been silent because there is not one moment to spare. But I am following your work from the letters you send me. I am asking the *Young India* Manager to put you on the complimentary list so that you may continue to get your *Young India* whether you send the subscription or not and henceforth if you really cannot afford it do not pinch yourself and send the subscription. You have a right to receive a free copy. You will see what I have done in connection with the Viceregal letter.[1] I do not know what will come out of it. Write to Mohanlal yourself asking him to send a complimentary copy to you.

MURIEL LESTER
KINGSLEY HALL, BOW. E/3

From a photostat: S.N. 15677

140. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR RAJAN,

I have your letter as also the minutes[2]. I went through the minutes perfunctorily. I have hardly time for more. Of course I have studies on the *Gita*[3] in mind but I have almost despaired of getting the time for them. Let me however hope and pray. I am keeping well. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15728

[1] *Vide* pp. 80-1.

[2] Of the meeting of the Council of the Federation of International Fellowships

[3] The addressee had sent a copy of *Studies in the Gospels* by Verrier Elwin and wanted to have Gandhiji's studies on the *Gita* mainly for the use of Hindu students.

141. LETTER TO LADY MONCRIEFF-SMITH

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] for which I thank you. The monies that I receive are earmarked for certain definite charitable purposes. I am therefore unable to use them for any other purpose however laudable it may be.

Yours sincerely,

LADY MONCRIEFF-SMITH
CHAIRMAN, DELHI HEALTH AND BABY WEEK 1930
19 AKBAR ROAD, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15739

142. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Here is a letter I received from Lala Shankarlal. I would like you to reply to it in detail and send it to me. And if Manilal Kothari is there I would like you to get his reply also but even if he is not there you may send a copy of this letter to him and get him to send a reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 2
SJT. SHANKERLAL BANKER
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15753

[1] Requesting Gandhiji to contribute some funds for an exhibition on the dangers of tuberculosis

143. LETTER TO "KAISER-I-HIND"

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your circular letter dated 26th October. The only thing I can say with reference to the Viceroy's declaration is that unless there is a full response to what must be frankly considered to be the conditions enumerated in the leaders' manifesto there can be no peace.

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITOR, "KAISER-I-HIND"
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15757

144. LETTER TO UNDER-SECRETARY, HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your enquiry I am sorry I have not got the repatriation rules regarding indentured labourers at the Assam Tea Plantations but you are likely to have them either from Pt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi, *Vishal Bharat*[1], Calcutta, or Servants of India Society, Poona.

Yours sincerely,

THE UNDER-SECRETARY
HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL
HUBLI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15758

[1] A nationalist Hindi daily

145. *LETTER TO K. SANTANAM*

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

I enclose herewith copy of reply[1] from Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan in reply to my enquiry. Chhaganlal Joshi and Subramaniam are now with you. You will do whatever you think proper.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PT. K. SANTANAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 15759

146. *LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I am surprised that you had not heard from me up to the 28th ultimo, the date of your letter. I hope however that you did receive the letter after the despatch of yours. In any case now you do not need my letter as you have made up with Jamshedji[2]. I hope the work[3] will go on without a hitch now.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. MALKANI
TILAK CONGRESS BHAWAN
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a photostat: G.N. 897

[1] Satis Chandra Das Gupta had written: "Lahore Exhibition Committee may gracefully agree to let khadi have (1) free stalls (2) free food tickets for exhibition, and (3) free housing in special huts within the exhibition grounds."

[2] Jamshedji N. R. Mehta, Mayor of Karachi

[3] Flood relief work in Sind

147. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. You did not tell me anything about your going to Rajahmundry but I knew from Dr. Pattabhi that you had gone there and I was glad. I understand what you say about Utkal. I would love to go to Utkal after the Congress if I get the time. But whether I do or not there need be no difficulty about finding funds for Utkal if they are really required, that is to say, deserved. It would be quite good if you and Shankerlal go there before we meet at Wardha. Sukhendu's death is a murder.[1] The world's history shows that you cannot be violent towards one and non-violent towards another. All our violence is bound to recoil upon our heads more and more as we go on and if we do not retrace our steps. We will have to discover a method of dealing with this violence among ourselves. Of course there is not one word in *Hind Swaraj*[2] that cannot be substantiated. If I have to rewrite it today I may change the language but never the thought. I hope you are much stronger. How is Hemprabhadevi? Whether I write to her or not she must give me an occasional letter. Correspondence is still going on with the Exhibition Committee about the charges. I am passing on the relevant extracts from your letter to Pt. Santanam.[3]

With reference to Utkal I have not attached any importance to Govind Babu's insinuations about Niranjan Babu. However I have written to him[4] a strong letter either to substantiate his innuendoes or to apologize for having made them.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1611

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 91
[2] *Vide* Vol. X.
[3] *Vide* p. 124.
[4] On November 3; *vide* p. 89.

148. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You must have received the telegram which I sent you today. I read about it in a newspaper only a while ago and soon after I had a telegram from Jamnalal. I was shocked. How did this accident happen? I make this inquiry because Jamnalalji, according to his nature, has left it to me to ask you if you need any advice or help. You are brave and I have no doubt that you will show patience. Why should we grieve when we know that the way Father has gone is the way all of us are destined to go? Mataji has knowledge and self-control and, therefore, she is bound to be above joy or sorrow. Bring honour to Father's mantle which you inherit. In all your work act with great patience. I should like you to write to me regularly for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. C.W. 4716. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

149. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have not received any mail from you today. A letter on the Bank is enclosed with this, which you may use if necessary.

Ba and Devdas have gone to Shahabad today to attend a women's meeting. Others have gone to Etah ahead of me.

Maintain your health in excellent condition.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chhaganlal has separated from the party today and left for the Punjab.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4148

150. LETTER TO MATHURADAS P. GANDHI

ETAH,
November 9, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS[1],

I have the letter you wrote while on your way to Karachi. Has Jivandas's death increased your responsibilities? Has he made any provision for his widow? Or can she support herself? As I view things, it should be the duty of every husband devoted to his wife to teach her at the earliest opportunity to be self-reliant. To leave money for her is, according to me, the lowest of duties. Of course, if one keeps the wife always dependent on oneself, the only course then is to leave money for her. The logical thing is that, as a wife does not leave money for her husband and, if she does, the latter feels ashamed, a wife too, should feel so if the husband leaves money for her. About the children, too, my thinking has been on the same lines, as you must have seen from my article in *Navajivan*. In the light of this, your duty to the widowed sister lies, not in supporting her for life if she is penniless, but in teaching her to be resolute and self-reliant.

The progress of the spinning-wheel class is slow because still there are very few persons who recognize spinning as a science and are interested in it as a science. Because of these two factors we do not have a tradition of good teachers. Moreover, you will observe that we have not so far had even one single teacher who has clung to the work throughout after once taking it up. As you have understood this secret, I hope that you will stick to this work and do well in it.

I hope that both of you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3733

[1] An expert carder and khadi worker at Sabarmati Ashram

151. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

BADAYUN,
November 9, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

As long as you were at the Ashram it was not necessary for you to write to me except when there was some reason. But now it is necessary that you should. You may write to me whenever you have any difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9280. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

152. A MISTAKE IN BARDOLI?

A correspondent writes:[1]

Just as a person cannot see his own back, he cannot see his own faults! Hence wise men have advised us that we should be prepared to see those faults in ourselves which others find in us and point out to us and we should not insult through anger or impatience those who do so. Being aware of this, I have always welcomed those who have pointed out my faults. But I am always faced with a serious dilemma: everyone does not see the same faults. That which seems a virtue to some appears to be a failing to others. What should a person like me do when faced with such a difficult situation? When such a dilemma arises, if one is not convinced despite considering the critic's observations dispassionately, one should follow the dictates of one's inner voice. I am in such a predicament with regard to Bardoli. Until this day, I have felt that I have served the country and the world by calling off the Bardoli struggle. I am confident that history will look upon it as a form of perfect satyagraha and not as an act of cowardice. On my part, I have seen even its results to be excellent. If I had deliberately continued the struggle, the nation

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the reported remarks about India being within an inch of swaraj when the non-co-operation movement was withdrawn after the Chauri Chaura incident in February 1922.

would have been crushed. As a result of the postponement of the struggle, the nation has made progress, though at a slow rate, its thinking power has increased and the awakening that followed in its wake has been stabilized.

The opinion expressed by the Governor of Bombay or any other official is irrelevant. It is not possible for an outsider to think of a solution that suggests itself to a person directly involved. I, as the leader, or my companions who are involved in the struggle alone can judge it. A commander who gives up his own opinions as a result of being influenced by the criticism made by others is fit to be dismissed. He must have the capacity to assess his own decisions; failing this, he should never take such a responsibility upon himself.

Having said so much in support of my decision, I am prepared to admit that it is possible that my being a Bania by birth prevents me from perceiving my cowardice. If that failing remains, it is unavoidable. But it is for the people to decide whether to overlook this failing or to reject my services because of it. People wish to be served and yet desire perfection—how can both these be possible? I must also add here that I do not recall having admitted defeat in any struggle. The struggle which was begun in 1920-21 has not yet ended. I have not admitted defeat. I live in the hope of either winning swaraj in this birth or dying while fighting for it. There is no such thing as defeat in satyagraha. Once a satyagrahi has chalked out his path, he never retreats from it. Anyone who does so is not a satyagrahi.

It is not necessary now to discuss the question as to what I would do if incidents similar to those of Chauri Chaura occur again. This is so because I do not have the capacity to take such a decision in advance. It is my desire to plan my strategy by taking into account incidents such as those which took place in Chauri Chaura so that we can deal with them when the time comes for launching the struggle. I do not know whether it is possible to plan this way or not. While man aspires and tries, it is for God to fulfil his wishes.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

153. THE YOUTH AND AGRICULTURE

A co-worker who has received modern education and wishes to become self-reliant by taking to farming writes:[1]

I sincerely regard myself as a farmer. Some people were amused at my evidence in the court. I had described my profession as farmer and weaver[2]. Even today, if my ability is taken into consideration, I have no right to call myself a farmer, but I have no doubt that my flesh and blood are those of a farmer. I am fascinated by the farmer's life. I am a worshipper of his natural virtues and I envy him his indifference to death. When I see his sturdy physique, I take pity on my own frail body. I have had personal experience of the fact that the common sense which he possesses can never be acquired in schools. I do not feel ashamed of cleaning latrines, of sweeping or of handling the spade and the hoe; on the contrary, I like doing these things. Hence I know that, if I give up that which I have come to regard as service or am forced to give it up, and I continue to be physically fit, I shall start farming that very day. But I was not destined to do so and hence I have had to be content with living on a farm and inspiring my co-workers to take to farming.

But because I have realized the importance of agriculture in this manner, I am happy when any educated person takes up this occupation. Moreover, I am well acquainted with the hardships involved in it as I have come into close contact with farmers, and experiments in agriculture are being carried out under my direct supervision. I have reproduced the above extract from my co-worker's letter in order to give some idea of those joys and hardships.

Without both, health and wealth, it is not possible to do farming. Multi-millionaires earn money by owning hundreds of thousands of bighas of land. They do not till the land, but carry on business; their success is similar to that of the person who runs a factory with the help of workers. But if those who have a limited sum of money invest it in farming, they must certainly have both the desire and the capacity to put in body labour. No other profession requires the same degree of alertness as that

[1] The letter is not translated here.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXIII, p. 85.

required of a farmer. If a farmer so desires, he can with the slightest effort become a yogi. It is for this very reason that the saying has originated to the effect "Agriculture is the best of professions, business comes next and service is the most inferior one." I have no doubt, therefore, that the larger the number of young men who take to farming, the better it will be for us. I have not written at length about it as I know that it is a difficult path. This precious profession cannot, however, be suggested to everyone. Anyone who wishes to take up farming should, first of all, serve silently as a labourer under some farmer. He should learn to use a plough, acquire the same knowledge as an ordinary farmer about the soil and crops, and learn well how to dig round and square pits. He should then acquire a knowledge of farming from books written in the West. Soil chemistry is a distinct subject. Some improvement can certainly be brought about in our agriculture by obtaining some knowledge of it. Hence if the educated young man who wishes to make a success of farming does not have inexhaustible patience, he should never take up this experiment. Anyone who carries out the experiment must also develop self-confidence. Initial failures should not dishearten him. Success has always been born out of failure.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

154. MY NOTES

An Aspect of Japan

The following extract from a letter written by an Indian residing in Japan is worth reading:[1]

This is an example of blind patriotism. It is not necessary for us to decide whether Japan is what it has been described to be. Let ours be an enlightened patriotism, full of truth and compassion.

Weakness of the Flesh

An unhappy gentleman writes:[2]

Many persons have experienced the same age-old difficulty as this gentleman. Arjuna had put the same question to the Lord.

[1] This is not translated here. The correspondent had described certain virtues and defects of the Japanese people.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The khadi-wearing correspondent had confessed his failure in giving up immoral relations.

Mastery over the senses was offered as a remedy. It was suggested that the soul should rest in itself. Constant endeavour, self-abnegation and devotion had also been pointed out as paths to self-conquest. Innumerable people have attained self-purification through devotion alone. This gentleman is well aware of his own weaknesses; hence his disease cannot be regarded as incurable. He and those like him should exercise self-control and keep themselves fully occupied in work in order to gain control over the mind and, along with this effort they should repeat Ramanama or use whatever epithet of God they like and have the faith that finally their effort is sure to succeed. Again, we come across many persons who, having failed, give up their efforts and despite this discuss their vices with everyone, ask for a remedy, declare their inability to adopt it and obtain permission to do sinful deeds. The correspondent should not commit this grave error through lack of effort. He should have faith that God always responds to the cry of a person in distress.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-11-1929

155. CONDITIONS FOR CO-OPERATION[1]

It is my advice to readers that they should not evince undue interest in the leaders' parleys, nor should they be very inquisitive about them. For, despite promises from the Government and even if the promise of Dominion Status is translated into a law, if the people do not prove worthy of it, they will not be able to see its results at all. However potent *svarnabhasma*[2] may happen to be, if one who takes it has no power to digest it, that *bhasma* is useless for one. Exactly similar position obtains in regard to Dominion Status, independence, swaraj and freedom—or by whatever other name it is known. As we keep developing our strength to win and preserve it, so and to that extent we shall have won swaraj. If this reasoning is accepted there is no need for conferences and the like. When a conference is held, one can merely conclude from it that the opponent is inclined to recognize to some extent our strength. Suppose the Conference is to meet and there are even Congress representatives in it, and yet if at that time the people's power is

[1] The first two paragraphs of this article are not translated here as they cover the same ground as "Notes", 7-11-1929; *vide* pp. 112-3.

[2] An oxide of gold

at a low ebb, that cannot but affect the Conference. Hence all those who are not required to attend the Conference should keep themselves engaged in constructive activities which are an expression of the people's strength. We do not yet know at all what the Viceregal pronouncement means. Suppose the interpretation made in the leaders' manifesto is correct, suppose the conditions stipulated by them are accepted, even then we cannot at all slow down the tempo of our present activities. That is to say, rather than abate activities like boycott of foreign cloth, production of khadi, prohibition, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, etc., we should accelerate their pace. Instead of that happening, if the people go to sleep, nothing will materialize today or hereafter. In other words, one cannot go to heaven unless one dies; or the winning of swaraj depends only on our own strength.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 10-11-1929

156. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I do think of you on my silence day. You are charitable about your being debarred from temple-entry and it is right for us all to be so towards one another. But the hideous truth is that this bar is a variety of the curse of untouchability which in its worst form we are making a mighty effort to remove.

Pray do not be greedy about doing many things at once. I would have you do some things at least well. We shall not be long meeting now. If all goes as expected I reach there[1] the night of 25th.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4528. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

[1] Sabarmati Ashram

157. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

BHAI FULCHAND,

I have your letter dated November 5, 1929. I have already replied to the letters which preceded.

I am sure you admit that *Saurashtra Mitra* has been at fault. If so, what struggle do you wish to take up on its behalf? I expect to reach Sabarmati on the night of the 25th, and to leave again from there on the morning of December 6. Come and see me during this period if you have anything to tell me. Do not come if there is nothing to explain and if you have no doubt whatever about what you propose to do. Even if there is a possibility of a mistake somewhere, do not hesitate to act according to what your conscience says. How long will you seek my protection?

I cannot accept your statement that you bear no ill will against the evil-doer. The freedom from such ill will results only from constant striving. It has not seemed to me that many members of your organization have so much as tried to cultivate that virtue. That is why I gave you a general caution.

One may regard the Ashram at Chhaya to have been put on a sound footing now, if the strong foundation for a building serve also as strong foundation for its inner spirit. Or else, we may persuade ourselves that the spirit was already well-founded and that is why the Ashram had a strong building constructed for itself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2838. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

158. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN SHAH

SHAHJAHANPUR,
Silence Day [*November 11, 1929*][1]

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. One should not put a wrong interpretation on the restrictions I mentioned. Why should those who have in them Bhaktibehn's[2] spontaneous courage not join the Corps? In doing good one should not wait for others to begin. Bhaktibehn is of course as good as enlisted. If, therefore, one has the spontaneous courage to follow truth unswervingly, if one has the strength to endure the hardships of jail life, etc., one should have absolutely no objection to enlisting in the Corps. You should not believe that all those who are at present members of the Corps will bring credit to it. Do not ever take satyagraha to mean no more than resistance to tyranny. The strength to oppose tyranny may be one of the marks of satyagraha. I have seen quite a good number of those who resist tyranny practising untruth. It is certain that mastery of the art of following truth unswervingly does give one the strength to resist tyranny, but the capacity for firm pursuit of truth results only from devoting each day diligently to some pure benevolent activity—from the performing of a pure sacrifice by way of unselfish service to others without attachment to such service. I have observed that such strength comes easily to a woman who has developed a general understanding of things and that it remains with her for the rest of her life.

I don't mind your having kept the yarn for a sari. It is enough that you spun it. I hope you remember the rule that only the spinner who does his own carding is regarded a spinner.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2839. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

[1] Gandhiji was at Shahjahanpur on this date.
[2] Darbar Gopaldas's wife

159. *LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN*

SHAHJAHANPUR,
Silence Day, November 11, 1929

SISTERS,

After this, I shall be required to write to you only on one more Monday.

It is being proved every day that the reason for frequent thefts in the Ashram is our own negligence. We are negligent in two ways: We are not watchful enough, and, though frequently warned, some of us keep jewellery with them and some others keep money. There will always be thieves in the world. There are three ways of protecting ourselves against them. One is that we should keep nothing with ourselves. That is not quite possible.

If we keep things with us, to that extent we should remain watchful. *The third method is to let the thieves feel the fear of punishment through the Government, and to co-operate with the Government in punishing them. We have renounced this third course.* The first course is our ideal. The second is the one that we follow at present. We should have the fewest possible possessions, and be watchful about the few things we keep with us as being absolutely necessary.

Since this letter has turned out to be of common interest, let it also be read out at the time of the evening prayers.

Do not get disheartened by the burden of the kitchen. Ask for whatever help you require, but do not give up in despair. It does not matter if we do not embark upon some task; but, having undertaken it, we should do it at the cost of our lives. God always helps those who work steadfastly in this manner. That is the lesson to be learnt in the story of *Gajendramoksha*[1] and in the *bhajan* about the male and female tortoise.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3709

[1] The story of an elephant who, being caught by a crocodile, was rescued by Vishnu

[2] A devotional song by Bhoja Bhagat narrates the story of a male and female tortoise saved by their faith in God.

160. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

This theft has agitated me. I see in it our fault and God's grace. If, despite our fault, we remain complacent, I would look upon it as a sign of God's wrath. It is my view that anyone who is found negligent in his duty of keeping watch should leave the Ashram. There are certain tasks which permit no laxity. A vaidya who gives his patient arsenic powder instead of salt ought not to be permitted to practise as a vaidya; this case is on a par with that. It seems that even at 4 o'clock it is necessary to maintain a watch.

Though we have a rule that no one should keep any money in his room, why is it that the rule is not observed? Personally I feel that those who violate the general rules of the Ashram should leave it. I don't think that asking people to leave the Ashram is a punishment; it is a form of non-co-operation.

You may consider whether the Managing Committee should make such a rule, but read out the above to all people as an expression of my feelings on the subject. It is not the loss of ten rupees which I mind, but the fact that we are still so lax. If Nathji has arrived there, ask him what his view is.

I certainly see our deficiency in the fact that we have not gone into the neighbouring villages. That we have not been able to do so shows that we do not know how. Think over how we can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4149

161. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Nathji must have come now. He will give you consolation. I can see that you are firm in your decision but not calm.

For the sake of health, take the necessary fruits as medicine. It is not a sin to take care of the body, treating it as a temple, but certainly it is a great sin to consider the body to be an abode of pleasure and pamper it. But you have freed yourself from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 29

162. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

A postcard which I wrote to your Bombay address does not seem to have reached you. It seems you had left before it could.

If your weight keeps going up at Bombay and going down at the Ashram, wouldn't you at last develop aversion to the Ashram?

Experience alone can show whether or not it was right for you to have spread the good name of the Ashram in Bombay. At present I can see only the defects of the Ashram, and that is what I like. When we see no defect in us but all the time see our virtues, you may know that that is the beginning of our fall.

As for the preparations, we shall talk about them when I return.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, pp. 5-6

163. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Tuesday [November 12, 1929][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. I agree that it will be advisable for you to continue to stay at Vijapur as long as you keep physically and mentally fit there. That will enable you to do some propaganda work and Chhaganlal will get some help. Help him as much as you can in carding and making slivers. See if you can introduce spinning in the primary school at Vijapur. If possible, cultivate social relations with good families there. You may do, however, what pleases your mind. For the present, carding should not be taught to those who do not spin. After some headway is made, there would be no objection to teaching it to anyone. The carding-bow should not be supplied to anybody free of charge. There is no harm in giving it at a concession price.

Today we have been camping at a village. We came here leaving Mirabehn and others at Lucknow, but we shall again be united tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9377

164. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

SITAPUR,
November 13, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I got your letter. I have arrived at a principle of conduct on the basis of experience, namely, that one should never think of doing good to others with a selfish motive. If while pursuing his own interest a person incidentally does some good to others, he

[1] The date is inferred from the reference to Lucknow in the last paragraph. On this date Gandhiji was at Lakhimpur which is about 85 miles from Lucknow. Gandhiji passed through Lucknow on November 13 on his way to Rai Bareli.

should not regard it as benevolence. He earns no merit for such a deed either. His neighbours may indeed benefit from what he has done, but the benefit results from the usefulness of the deed and not from the goodness of its author.

For instance, if a Bhangi cleans lavatories conscientiously, his work is of great benefit to others. But he earns no merit for it, since he works for his livelihood. As, however, his work is useful, society benefits from it as much as from that of any other person who might clean lavatories purely in a spirit of service. In the same way, if anyone practises *pranayama*, etc., for the sake of health, the benefit he derives from these activities is limited to health. His soul enjoys no peace through such *pranayama*.

This preface has reference to your question regarding our harassment at the hands of thieves. We can clean villages, dispense medicines and take up similar other activities. If, however, we start them now, they will have been prompted purely by self-interest and we shall be given no credit for our work. From the beginning we have cherished the intention of doing such work. We should hold to it, and take up the work in future. At the present time we can go into the villages only by declaring our interest in doing so.

I had drafted a leaflet with this aim. It was even printed. But, thanks to lack of faith on the part of the Ashram inmates, their timidity and their false sense of shame, its circulation was abandoned. My position is still the same and even now I give the same advice. I for one believe that we should go among the people and talk to them at present about nothing but our wretchedness and beg them to have pity on us. If I get time, I will draft and send a leaflet for this purpose, else I will draft one after I return. All of you may decide then whether or not to use it. I am dictating this letter while visitors are coming and going, and so I cannot finish what I wish to say. You may fill in the rest.

I wrote to you on Monday in regard to the signing of cheques.

About putting up a hedge, ask me after I return. However, if you feel that you cannot wait till then, do what you think best.

I have not revised this.

Blessings from
BAPU

LUCKNOW

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4150

165. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

RAI BARELI,
November 13, 1929

BHAISHRI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. It would have been nice if you yourself could have come. But now it will do if some responsible representative comes. A satyagrahi must be wholly pure. Then only can he be invincible. We shall further discuss this when we meet if we feel the need to do so. I presume that you will surely come to Wardha although you did not come to Sabarmati Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6063. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

166. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

RAI BARELI.,
November 13, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

I have your letter. I was glad to learn that your study of English is making good progress. Do your work there with careful application. Write to me regularly. Tell what books you are asked to read. If you have been doing some written work, send me one of your exercise books so that I may be able to see your handwriting and also get an idea of the kind of English you can write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9281. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

167. TELEGRAM TO VITHALBHAI PATEL

[On or after *November 13, 1929*][1]

PRESIDENT PATEL
SARDARGRIHA
BOMBAY

GOT VALLABHBHAI'S LETTER[2]. CO-SIGNATORIES[3] INVITED 18TH. NO DEPARTURE WILL BE MADE WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THEM.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15569

168. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

[On or before *November 14, 1929*][4]

PANDIT NEHRU
LUCKNOW

IF NOTHING ANNOUNCED REGARDING LALAJI ANNIVERSARY WHICH COMES SEVENTEENTH INSTANT PLEASE ANNOUNCE OBSERVANCE BY MEMORIAL COLLECTIONS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15570

[1] From the reference to Vallabhbhai's letter which was dated November 11, 1929 and which would have reached Gandhiji on November 13

[2] *Vide* Appendix III. Vallabhbhai had also sent a telegram on November 11 which read: "Can you arrange meet Vithalbhai Jinnah myself at Ahmedabad twenty-fourth or Bombay twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth. Wire reply President Patel Sardargriha."

[3] To the All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement

[4] Motilal Nehru's reply dated November 14 reads: "Issuing appeal for Lalaji Memorial through Associated and Free Press".

169. CONDOLENCES[1]

The tragic death of Sheth Narottam Morarjee removes from our midst a merchant prince who combined patriotism with commercial ambition. As an employer of labour he combined humanity with its exploitation. His latest enterprise, the Scindhia Steam Navigation Company, was conceived as much through patriotism as through ambition. His charities were wide, discriminating and in keeping with the modern requirements. The removal of such a son of India at this juncture is a great loss to the country. His mantle has fallen upon the shoulders of his only son who is yet in the making. But Sjt. Shantikumar has all the patriotism of his distinguished father and if possible, a greater love of the labourers employed in his father's many businesses. I tender my condolences to him, his aged grandmother and the other members of the family with whom I have had the privilege of enjoying intimate relations.

Young India, 14-11-1929

170. VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT[2]

I hope the reader carefully followed the articles by Lala Deshraj which were published in five parts.[3] They constitute, I think, a dispassionate review of the famous experiment made by Mr. Brayne, the late Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon District, known as the Gurgaon Programme. Whilst the articles were being published, I took up Mr. Brayne's book called *The Remaking of Village India*, being the second edition of his *Village Uplift in India* as it was originally called. So far as one can judge from Lala Deshraj's articles, the Gurgaon experiment for village remaking must be pronounced virtually a failure. After Mr. Brayne's back was turned upon Gurgaon, the people who were working under his

[1] A similar obituary appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-11-1929.

[2] Gandhiji's articles on the same subject also appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-11-1929, 1-12-1929 and 8-12-1929.

[3] In fact these articles appeared in four issues of *Young India*, 17-10-1929, 24-10-1929, 31-10-1929 and 7-11-1929. For Gandhiji's introductory remarks, *vide* pp. 3-4.

inspiration or pressure seem to have gone to sleep, the manure pits lying neglected, the new ploughs rusting and co-education dissolving.

The reason for the failure is not far to seek. The reform came not from within but was superimposed from without. Mr. Brayne made use of his official position to put as much pressure as he could upon his subordinates and upon the people themselves, but he could not carry conviction by force, and conviction so essential to success was lacking. Mr. Brayne thought that the results would convince the people. But that is not how reform works. The reformer's path is strewn not with roses but with thorns, and he has to walk warily. He can but limp, dare not jump. Mr. Brayne was impatient and wanted to cover a long distance in one stride, and he failed.

When an official becomes a reformer, he must realize that his official position is not a help but a hindrance. In spite of his Herculean efforts people will suspect him and his motives, and they will scent danger where there is none. And when they do certain things, they often do them more to please the official than to please themselves.

The other handicap that Mr. Brayne laboured under was the almost fatal facility he had for receiving money. In my opinion money is the last thing that a reformer needs in his campaign. It comes to him unsolicited in exact proportion to his strict needs. I have always distrusted reformers who have pleaded want of financial aid as an excuse for their ill-success. Where there is zeal, adequate knowledge and faith in oneself, financial assistance has always come; but Mr. Brayne relied more upon money for the success of his experiment than upon his faith in himself and the people. So in spite of his having had Rs. 50,000 a year according to Lala Deshraj's estimate, he complains that many things await development only for want of money. His ambition is insatiable. So much for the actual experiment itself.

The book deserves careful study apart from the experiment. There can be no doubt about Mr. Brayne's sincerity. Every page of the book proves it. The intrinsic worth of many of the author's suggestions is indisputable. The book is ably written, and everyone who wishes to do village reconstruction work should make haste to study Mr. Brayne's volume. The defects in the villages described by Mr. Brayne are as follows:

1. The peasant's methods of farming are bad.

2. His village is filthy; he lives in dirt, squalor, disease and suffering.

3. He is the prey of epidemic diseases.
4. He wastes all his wealth.
5. He keeps his womenfolk in degradation and slavery.
6. He pays no attention to his home or his village, and spends no time or thought over bettering himself and his surroundings.
7. He resists all change; he is illiterate and ignorant of what progress village folk in other civilized countries and in other parts of his own country are making, and what he can himself make if he sets his mind to it.

There is much exaggeration in this description. The Indian villager's methods of farming are certainly not bad. Many have testified that he has a workable knowledge of agriculture which is not to be despised. The second and third defects have, I fear, to be admitted. The fourth is largely, if not wholly, inadmissible if only because he has no wealth to waste. The fifth, sixth and seventh are largely true. The remedies suggested are eighteen. I summarize them as follows:

1. Keep good cattle.
2. Use modern implements.
3. Use good seed.
4. Put up Persian wheels.
5. Stock the manure in pits.
6. Stop making dung cakes.
7. Make use of village banks.
8. Bank your fields and divide them into squares according to levels to prevent wastage of rain water.
9. Consolidate your holdings.
10. Harvest for the whole year through the well.
11. Sow trees on every vacant space.
12. Inoculate your cattle against disease.
13. Kill the field-rats, porcupines and pests that share your crops with you.
14. Develop pasture land.
15. Cultivate half your land well and devote the rest to pasture.
16. Use underground pipes for carrying your well water.
17. Stop the sand-dunes by sowing whatever vegetation will grow and hold the sand.
18. Straighten and clean your canals and channels.

Many of the suggestions are admirable. What is new requires careful experiment. Much of what is old is not capable of enforcement. As to modern implements, after fifteen years' continuous experimenting and without any prejudice against imple-

ments and after having tried many of them at the Ashram, we have come to the conclusion that most of these implements are useless, and I may assure the reader that we have not made a hash of it all. We are making steady progress, but there are very few modern implements which we have found to be of much use. I hope to give later a definite note upon this Ashram experiment. Meanwhile I would say to those who go in for modern implements: 'Hasten slowly.' Conservation of manure and the consequent stopping of its wanton destruction through dung cake-making are suggestions worth taking up. Fragmentation of holdings is undoubtedly a crying evil. Drastic legislation alone can cope with an evil so extensive as this meaningless fragmentation. All the suggestions require true education and self-confidence. The starving peasant has no education and has no self-confidence, because he thinks that penury is an inheritance from which he cannot shake himself free. Mr. Brayne has valuable suggestions about sanitation. He would allow no sweepings, rubbish, dung, ashes, etc., to be thrown anywhere but into properly dug pits. He gives elaborate instructions for using manure pits as latrines. I cannot resist quoting the following long but truthful instructive paragraph:

> This rubbish lying in heaps all round and inside the village, and this night-soil, scattered thick everywhere outside the village, and sometimes inside too, dries up and is blown all over the village by the wind and is stirred up by the feet of men and cattle. It falls into your food and drink, gets into everyone's eyes and nose, and goes into their lungs with every breath they breathe. It thus forms part of your air and food and drink, and you and your children are daily poisoned by the filth of your village. Besides this, it breeds innumerable flies, which sit first on the filth and then on your food, your dishes, and on your children's eyes and mouths. And remember that the flies do not wash their feet or take off their shoes when they visit you. Can you imagine any quicker way of securing permanent ill health and bad eyes, and an early grave for yourself and your family?

"The Gurgaon village houses", says the author, "are the direct successors of the caves of pre-historic man." He would therefore have the villager to open windows in his house. He will guard against smallpox by free vaccinations. He would guard against plague by inoculation and rat-killing, against cholera by well-cleaning and proper arrangements for drawing water and against malaria by quinine and mosquito-nets. The assurance with which Mr. Brayne speaks of vaccination and inoculation is amaz-

ing when one knows that medical authorities speak of both with the greatest caution. Vaccination is daily being proved as an exploded remedy, and plague inoculation and the like, whatever merit they may possess as a temporary relief measure if they do at all, are soul-destroying remedies making man a weakling dying many times before his natural death. There is abundant testimony to show that where there is clean living there is no fear of plague or smallpox, both being diseases born of filth and insanitation. Well-cleaning and a clean method of drawing water are no doubt good not only as a precaution against cholera but many other things. Quinine without milk is a useless remedy, and mosquito-nets, I know from personal experience, are not within the reach of millions. More than once has Mr. Brayne betrayed ignorance of the chronic economic distress of the seething millions of India. It is perfectly useless to suggest remedies which are beyond the present means of the people. What the people may be capable of doing when the reformer's dream is realized is irrelevant to a consideration of what they ought to do whilst the reform is making its way among them.

The following is the remedy suggested for waste:

> Eradicate the present ideals of absurd expenditure on *kaj*[1] and other such ceremonies, jewellery, weddings and quarrelling.

I fear that this 'absurd expenditure' exists largely only in Mr. Brayne's imagination. It is confined to the fewest people. The vast majority of the masses have no money to spend on any ceremony. The jewellery hoarding is the old official trick. I have now moved amongst lakhs of women all over India. I have myself inveighed against jewellery and dispossessed many sisters of it. I know that there is no beauty about it. But if the number of those who can afford ceremonies is small, that of those who can afford jewellery is smaller still. Millions wear either hideous stone or wooden pieces. Many wear brass or copper ornaments and some wear silver bangles and anklets. A microscopic number have any gold on their persons. Whilst therefore the advice to turn jewellery into cash and bank it is in my opinion perfectly sound, it is irrelevant when considered as part of a programme for village reconstruction. The same may be said about quarrelling. Whilst the amount of litigation is no doubt great in itself and shameful, it is again confined to those who have, but the millions are the have-nots, and in a programme of village reconstruction one has to think of this vast, helpless, ignorant and hopeless majority.

[1] Socio-religious ceremonies

To ensure a happy home Mr. Brayne would humanize the women and make them honourable and equal partners in the home. He will send the girls to the school with the boys till they are too big to be so sent. He will not marry them while they are children. He is energetic and even eloquent on the rights of women. Here are two passages worthy of consideration:

> When your wife is to have a baby, you choose a dark and dirty room and send for a sweeper's wife. Why do you not send for the sweeper when you break your arm? Why not train some of your own women as midwives? Sweepers' wives have no more business to be midwives than they have to be doctors. Would it not be far nicer for your wife to be attended by one of her own people at such a risky time than by the lowest caste in the village? There is no more noble work for a high-caste woman than the work of a nurse or *dai*.
>
> Don't reserve the darkest and least airy part of the house for your wife and family. They are just as important as you, and their ill health is just as bad for you as your own. You can keep fit by going to the fields. Your women and children must spend a lot of their time at home. Therefore give them the best and airiest part of the house.

Here is another passage of poetic beauty:

> Man is the only creature that discriminates between his male and female children, and treats the females as inferior. Your mother was once a girl. Your wife was once a girl. Your daughters will one day be mothers. If girls are an inferior creation, then you are yourselves inferior.

I hope the reader will share my appreciation of the following passage about dogs:

> The dog is called the friend of man. In Gurgaon he is treated not much better than a woman, and is the enemy of man. Keep a dog by all means, but feed it regularly, give it a name and a collar, train it and look after it properly. Don't allow uncared-for dogs to roam the village, spoil your food, keep you awake at night by barking, and finally go mad and bite you.

There is much more that is valuable in his book. There is not a defect in the villages that has escaped his eagle eye. His ideas on village education are in my opinion perfectly sound and difficult to improve upon. I cannot resist quoting the following passage:

> The object of a village school is to make better, more intelligent, and happier villagers. If a ploughman's son comes to school,

> his schooling should so pepare him that when he comes to follow the tail of his father's plough he will pick up the work more quickly and display more intelligence in all his business than his father did. Above all, the children must learn at school how to lead healthy lives and protect themselves from epidemic diseases. What is the use of teaching boys who are going to go blind, become in some way physically incapacitated, or even to die before they reach manhood? What is the use of education when the home is dirty, uncomfortable, and epidemics are liable to sweep away the whole family, or leave the children blind or maimed?

And to this end he would make the village teacher not a man who could only impart a knowledge of the three R's. He must become a genuine village leader, a centre of light and culture whom the people trust, to whom they refer their problems and whom they consult when they are in doubt or difficulty.

> The teacher must take and hold his proper place in village life. He must practise what he preaches, and set the example of working with his own hands at all the uplift measures he recommends. His gospel is the dignity of labour and the dignity of social service, and he must be as willing to set about cleaning the village or adjusting an iron plough as he is to teach reading and writing.

I must restrain myself now, and be satisfied with recommending a perusal of this valuable contribution to village reconstruction literature. The scheme so far as it goes is on the whole good and practicable. If the information that has been given by Lala Deshraj is to be relied upon, as in my opinion it should be, the execution has been, to say the least, extremely defective, not however through want of will and effort on the part of both Mr. Brayne and his partner, but because of the official environment and groove which he and his were unable to overcome. But this limitation is one which all of us similarly placed would labour under. I know that Mr. Brayne has been libelling India and putting before his English audiences deductions from his limited observations which they could not possibly challenge and which at that distance would appear in a much more exaggerated form than they would if repeated in India. But I have not allowed my examination of his book to be affected either by his English calumnies or by the apparent failure of his experiment. As a reformer myself deeply interested in village reconstruction I have endeavoured to take what good I can out of a book sincerely written.

Young India, 14-11-1929

171. MY POSITION

English friends have been sending me cables[1], as I suppose, to others, telling me in substance to reciprocate the effort of the Labour Government to help India. After the joint manifesto which bears my signature in common with others, nothing more remains to be said or done. Nevertheless, perhaps, I owe it to the personal friends, who are interested in what I think and do, and who are affectionately solicitous that I should think or do the right thing, to explain my own position more definitely than a joint manifesto can ever do.

Let me repeat what I have said before in these pages[2] that I am dying for co-operation. My non-co-operation is a token of my earnest longing for real heart co-operation in the place of co-operation falsely so called. I have therefore responded on the very first opportunity that offered itself. But I have meant every word of the joint manifesto as I have the now famous Calcutta resolution[3] of the Congress. The two are in no sense contradictory. The letter of a document is nothing if the spirit of it is preserved in fact. I can wait for the Dominion Status constitution, if I can get the real Dominion Status in action, if, that is to say, there is a real change of heart, a real desire on the part of the British people to see India a free and self-respecting nation and on the part of the officials in India a true spirit of service. But this means substitution of the steel bayonet by that of the goodwill of the people. Are the Englishmen and Englishwomen prepared to rely for the safety of their life and property upon the goodwill of the people rather than upon their gun-mounted forts? If they are not yet ready, there is no Dominion Status that would satisfy me. My conception of Dominion Status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to. Therefore there can be no such thing as compulsion in the regulation of relations between Britain and India. If I choose to remain in the Empire, it is to make the partnership a power for promoting peace and goodwill in the world, never to promote

[1] For cables from *The Daily Express* and A. Fenner Brockway, *vide* footnote 1, p. 87 and footnote 1 to "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 14-11-1929.
[2] *Vide* pp. 112-3.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 307-10.

exploitation or what is known as Britain's imperialistic greed. It is highly likely that the Labour Government has never meant all the implications mentioned by me. In my opinion I have not stretched the meaning of the manifesto in stating the implications. But whether the manifesto can bear the weight of these implications or not, it is due to the friends in England and in India that they should clearly realize my own fundamental position. I am fully aware that India has not developed strength enough to assert the position here adumbrated. If therefore it is realized now it will be largely through the good grace of the British people. It will be nothing strange if they exhibit it at the present juncture. It will be some reparation for the past wrongs done to India.

But if the time is not yet ripe for India to come to her own, I have patience enough to wait. I can work and live for no other goal. I recognize that mine is but the voice of an individual. How far it is representative of India's millions, no one can say; I certainly cannot.

Young India, 14-11-1929

172. THE INCOME OF POTENTATES

A correspondent sends a strongly worded letter giving a digest of figures showing the takings by the different European monarchs in every 1,350 rupees of the income of their States and has compared them with the income derived by only one Maharaja, that is of Mysore. I take the following[1] from it.

I do not know whether the figures given by the correspondent are approximately true. If anyone can supplement the correspondent's figures, they will be a most helpful study alike for the princes as for the people. Assuming the correctness of the figures, they furnish food for reflection for Indian princes.

Young India, 14-11-1929

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had furnished figures from the *Statesman Year Book of 1926.*

173. THE U. P. TOUR–IX[1]

IN DELHI

In Delhi Gandhiji had to face a crowded programme which he could scrape through with the greatest difficulty, for he had to finish not merely the items of his tour but to attend the unexpected meeting of the members of the Working Committee as also a joint meeting of these members and the leaders who at the urgent invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru had arrived in Delhi. I must however omit the political meeting, as it was not part of the tour and its result is already before the public. The tour programme began with a visit to the Jamia. It became a solemn function owing to the short but solemn speech made by Gandhiji in acknowledging the Jamia khadi purse of Rs. 500. Speaking under a visible emotion he said how it was a matter of grief to him every time he visited Delhi which was the scene of Shraddhanandji's assassination and Hindu-Muslim riots. He loved to call it the Delhi of Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and Shraddhanandji which alas it was no more. But he was consoled by the fact that the very first function in Delhi began with a visit to the Jamia for whose existence in Delhi Hakim Saheb was principally responsible. He entertained the highest hopes of the Jamia boys in achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He expected them to remain untouched by communal passion and communal prejudice. That was the least the boys owed to the memory of Hakim Saheb and to the self-sacrifice of the teachers who were devoting themselves to the moulding of the Jamia boys. From the Jamia the party motored to Indraprasth Gurukul situated about 14 miles from Delhi on an extensive piece of lofty ground. The teachers, the boys and the servants altogether contributed over Rs. 855 to the purse, probably the largest sum yet contributed in proportion to their numbers by any educational institution. This Gurukul has 141 pupils. The analysis of their contribution is also interesting. Servants Rs. 36-4-0, the earnings of labour specially put in by the pupils Rs. 80-8-6, denial by the pupils of part of their clothing Rs. 570-8-0, contribution by the teachers Rs. 186-4-0[2], total

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 40.

[2] Perhaps a slip for 168-4-0 which would give the total 855-8-6

Rs. 855-8-6. Over and above this the students contributed a very large amount of yarn. It has been a special feature of gurukuls to make up their contributions by manual labour and self-denial. Here too Gandhiji redelivered the message delivered to the Jamia boys. He told the boys that the only proper manner in which they could do penance for Shraddhanandji's assassination was to purify themselves and therethrough Hindu religion. In the afternoon there was the meeting to receive the Municipal Committee's address. Then women's meeting. Then students' meeting and then the public meeting. The women's contribution was a notable effort. It amounted to over Rs. 1,000 besides a large amount of jewellery. Owing to the political conference to which I have referred, the whole of the afternoon programme was upset. The women who had gathered at 2 o'clock patiently waited till 6.30, and yet they showed no resentment, no sullenness, no impatience. India may well be proud of her women who are capable of such forbearance. The reader need not run away with the idea that those who had gathered in their large numbers at this meeting were illiterate women. On the contrary many of them were highly educated, but they knew that Gandhiji was helpless and therefore out of their natural charity forgave him for the inconvenience that was undoubtedly caused to them, many of whom had left young children behind for the purpose of attending the meeting. I must pass by the other meetings in Delhi and take the reader to Aligarh, omitting also the several places visited on the way to Aligarh.

IN ALIGARH[1]

The Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University had invited Gandhiji to address the students. The hall where he gave the address[2] was packed to suffocation. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Horn, presided. At this meeting Gandhiji was made honorary life member of the University Union. His address was an impassioned appeal to the University boys to produce servants of the country and Islam like Gokhale. The speaker recalled to the students the simplicity of the second Caliph Umar, told them how he, although the treasures of the world lay at his feet, denied himself every form of ease and luxury, and rebuked his lieutenants when they pampered themselves by using soft silk garments instead of coarse khadi and fine flour instead of unsifted stone-ground coarse flour. Khadi was practically conspicuous by its

[1] On November 3
[2] *Vide* pp. 100-1.

absence among the students. Gandhiji therefore made a moving appeal to them to adopt khadi if they would establish a living bond between themselves and the millions of India's paupers whose children could never have access to the facilities for education which the foresight and genius of the late Sir Syed Ahmed had provided for them. And thirdly he asked them to consider themselves custodians of India's honour and makers of Hindu-Muslim unity. He would expect them to be found amongst the first to help a Hindu in distress as he would expect Hindu students to be found among the first to help a Muslim brother in distress. Though there was no want of enthusiasm at the meeting, it was impossible not to notice the absence of any purse from the students and professors. Throughout the tour this was our first experience of a students' gathering addressed by Gandhiji where there was no purse presented for *Daridranarayana*. The omission was all the more noticeable for the fact that Gandhiji scrupulously refrained from making any mention about it at the meeting. At the end of the meeting he was besieged for autographs. He straightway named his price: 'If you will have my autograph you must promise to wear khadi.' After a little hesitation on the part of the first applicant many came forward with their promises and received autographs. Several others came the next day to receive the autograph in exchange for promises to wear khadi. There were of course the usual functions in Aligarh which do not require any special description.

IN MATHURA[1]

From Aligarh taking several places on the way as usual we passed on to Mathura. The absence in this celebrated holy place of Hinduism of anything to remind one of the nativity of Krishna, the first among the cowherds of the world as Gandhiji called him at the public meeting, preyed upon his mind, and in reply to the addresses Gandhiji emptied his soul before the meeting on behalf of the cow. He said a visitor to Mathura and the surrounding places reported to be the birthplace and the playground of the divine keeper of the cow had a right to expect this part of the country to show the finest cattle in the world and to produce rich, pure unadulterated milk almost at the price of water even as it was said to have been in Krishna's age. A visitor would expect the people of Mathura to show the rigorous piety, simplicity and bravery of Krishna. He would also expect to find the despised untouchables to be treated with affection and every

[1] On November 6

consideration. 'I see, as I go through the streets of Mathura, cattle with their bones protruding, cows who give so little milk as to be an economic burden. I see in this holy place the slaughter-house where the cow whom Krishna protected and venerated is slaughtered for man's food. Do not imagine that it is the Muslim or even the Englishman who is in the first instance responsible for this shameful state of things. We Hindus are primarily responsible for it. Cattle will be killed as they are fast becoming an economic burden on the land, and if they are not killed in India they will be shipped as they are already being shipped to Australia for its butcheries. Hindus are in the first instance possessors of the vast majority of India's cattle. It is they who sell them to butchers or their buyers. If we would but do our duty towards the divine child whom we affect to worship, we could study the science of cattle-keeping and would make it a point of ensuring that they are superior to any cattle in the world in their capacity to give milk and bear burdens. If we would do this we have to discard foolish prejudices and superstitions however ancient they may be.'

GOVARDHAN[1]

From Mathura we went to Govardhan on our way to Brindaban. The sight that Gandhiji saw in Govardhan grieved him more even than in Mathura. Govardhan was visited in the early morning at 7 o'clock. As we passed through the ill-kept street of Govardhan we faced a yoke of bullock and buffalo both with their protruding bones. At the meeting we found men looking as if they had just risen from their sleep, youngsters in dirty clothes, with eyes and ears unwashed and without any lustre in their eyes, or intelligence in their features. To add to his grief, the secretary who presented the khadi purse said: "This place is filled with Brahmins who are *bhikharis* — beggars — and so we are unable to give you a large purse." This drew from Gandhiji a speech which showed his great grief. He made no reference to the purse and would not make the appeal he invariably makes for money. 'You have brought me,' he said, 'to a place which stirs me to my depths. I belong to a Vaishnava family. From my childhood I have been taught to think of the birthplace and the playground of Shri Krishna as places which would make a man discard his sins if he visited them. I had no such feeling as I passed through the streets. This is the place where Krishna is alleged to have lifted with his little finger the hill of Govardhan and

[1] On November 7

protected his cowherd companions and their cattle from being deluged by the rains that were pouring upon them. But the spirit of that sermon of humanity and its companion the cow I miss here. Instead I see dilapidated cattle and I see before me men and boys without life or lustre and I am told about and I find Brahmins described as beggars. Not so were those, the Brahmins of old. They were those who had seen God face to face and imparted to all men the secret of so seeing God. It was not on charity that they lived. Their maintenance was found for them as a matter of privilege by those whom they endowed with divine knowledge. They were in the days of Krishna the custodians of true religion. They arrogated no superiority to themselves but they commanded respect and veneration by reason of their service of humanity. I see no trace of this in sacred Govardhan.' The meeting in Govardhan did not occupy more than twenty minutes, for we had to take several places before reaching our destination which was Brindaban.

In Brindaban[1]

In Brindaban we stayed at the Prem Mahavidyalaya, that standing monument to the charity of that brave patriot Raja Mahendra Pratap. I must not however tarry to describe this institution or the Ramakrishna Mission or the Gurukul — all of which Gandhiji visited. At the public meeting there was the unveiling of the Raja Saheb's portrait by Gandhiji and an address to the students of the Prem Mahavidyalaya. Acharya Jugalkishore had purposely postponed the annual function of the Vidyalaya to the time of Gandhiji's visit. Gandhiji used the unveiling ceremony as an occasion for paying a glowing tribute to Raja Mahendra Pratap whose noble example of self-sacrifice and patriotism he commended to all the zamindars. To the students he said: 'You will not have deserved the munificent donation of Raja Mahendra Pratap if you do not labour for your neighbours. Your education, if it is a vital thing, must shed its fragrance in your surroundings. You must devote a certain portion of your time daily to serving the people around in a practical manner. You must therefore be prepared to take the spade, the broomstick and the basket. You must become voluntary scavengers of this holy place. That would be the richest part of your education, not learning by heart literary theses. I learn that Brindaban contains a very large number of widows who have come prin-

[1] On November 7

cipally from Bengal to pass the remainder of their lives in Brindaban. The poor amongst them are paid a small pittance daily for repeating in congregation the divine name Radhe-Shyam[1]. It is to be hoped that those who are responsible for organizing this charity will give some work to the widows rather than make them feel helpless by doling out charity as against their repeating the name of God. Surely a vain repetition can have no virtue about it.'

Young India, 14-11-1929

174. AN IDEAL ADDRESS

In the last issue I had given some examples of the language used in addresses.[2] At every meeting I receive three, four, or even more addresses. In most of them I find nothing artistic. Mostly the addresses are only full of fulsome praise of me. In my opinion this shows lack of wisdom and ideas. By flattering a person to his face we neither honour nor please him. Much of my work would cease if I were to believe the words of praise applied to me. God has given me a sense of humour; with this I laugh away all such epithets; and, because I try to practise the teachings of the *Gita*, to my knowledge praise and blame have no effect on me. But, in this article, I have not set out to describe what effect the addresses have on me. Here I only wish to tell the readers how an ideal address should be framed, so that people who present addresses in future may also get some help in preparing them. An ideal address can be prepared by observing the following rules.

1. The language of an address should be such that both Hindus and Muslims alike can understand it.
2. An address should not need a frame.
3. As far as possible the address should be written on hand-made paper. Such paper can be secured if an attempt is made to obtain it. Granted that hand-made paper cannot compare with machine-made paper, even so we should not let this handicraft die. The survival of such handicrafts depends on the partiotism of the rich and the wise.
4. The address should only be written by hand. If this becomes the rule, then the art of calligraphy will flourish. Such an address should not be written by any and every person. It should be written only by someone who is an adept at calligraphy. It is quite a different matter to say that for the sake of publicity it is necessary to have an address printed. In my opinion there

[1] The source has "Radha Shyam".

[2] *Vide* pp. 113-4.

is no necessity to distribute addresses in this manner. Before the guest arrives, the address should be read out to the gathering.

5. Nowadays, it has become the vogue that an address to be presented in the name of an association or society is prepared by some one individual without other members being consulted about it. Our people are indifferent to such matters; therefore, whatever is to be said or to be done, only one person acts on behalf of all. But the proper thing is for the contents of the address to be known to all the people who are giving the address. Only then has the address any value. For instance, if an address is to be presented in the name of students, a committee of the students should be formed; and even then, the address, when ready, should be approved by an assembly of all the students.

6. An address should contain very few words of praise. Rather, what has been done in accordance with the ideals of the addressee, and what would be done in the future, should be spelled out in the address. Together with this, particulars of the society or association presenting the address should be given in it.

If the above suggestions are followed, then, the addresses which are dull and meaningless today will become interesting and purposeful.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 14-11-1929

175. LETTER TO JOHN S. HOYLAND

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of October 18th. I have not yet received the book[1]. When I return to the Ashram I suppose I shall see it and if I at all get the time I shall read it and see what I can do with it. Generally books are not reviewed in *Young India*. I wish indeed that I could come to England but there is no call from within as yet. I hope that medical reasons will soon cease to operate against your return to India.[2]

Yours sincerely,

JOHN S. HOYLAND, ESQ.
BIRMINGHAM (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 15682

[1] *The Case for India*

[2] The addressee had been in India for sixteen years.

176. LETTER TO ALI MOHAMAD A. ALLADIN

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I know nothing of the incident referred to by you but assuming that some Sikhs and some Hindus misbehaved themselves that is no reason why it should be a bar against Hindu-Muslim friendship or that the sins of a few should be imputed to the whole people.

Yours sincerely,

ALI MOHAMAD A. ALLADIN, ESQ., M.A.
ALLADIN BUILDINGS
SECUNDERABAD, DECCAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 15744

177. LETTER TO C. D. SMILEY[2]

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You could see me in Wardha near Nagpur between the 8th and 15th of December. My movements are just now subject to alteration but in all probability during the dates mentioned by me I shall be in Wardha. On enquiring about that time at Sabarmati you will know whether I am then in Wardha or not.

Yours sincerely,

MISS C. D. SMILEY
AMERICAN MARATHI MISSION
BYCULLA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15746

[1] It stated: ". . . Some time ago at Quadian in Punjab Sikhs and Hindus joined together and demolished completely the abattoir for cows. . . . At this atrocious incident the Hindu leaders instead of condemning the perpetrators never raised a single voice of protest. Under such circumstances how Muslims of India can be convinced that when India gets swaraj or even Dominion Status their rights would be safeguarded?" (S.N. 15743)

[2] An American on a visit to India

178. LETTER TO ALAVI

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I went through a few pages of your book. A book like yours is not in my line. I am no judge of English poetry and I have no time to give myself for pleasures of that character. But I saw sufficient of your pages to discover that it contained many errors typographical and others. And as I was going through the few pages I could not help asking myself why you had devoted your precious time to writing on a thing on which Englishmen would write with greater confidence and authority and why you had not given your time to writing something in Urdu and for the Urdu-knowing countrymen of ours.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. ALAVI
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

From a photostat: S.N. 15765

179. LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., MASULIPATAM[1]

Registered

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR SIR,

I am writing a note in *Young India* about the dealers in spurious Andhra khadi.[2] I return the papers sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

Encls.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15766

[1] From the S.N. Register

[2] *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Khadi Buyers Beware", 21-11-1929.

180. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your cablegram[1]. I have done whatever was possible but you will be patient with me if I do not take things quite on trust. I would want some absolute guarantees that things are not what they seem. The two Parliamentary debates contain nothing, not even in Benn's[2] speech that would give me assurance that I may approach the Conference[3] with confidence and safety. I would far rather wait and watch and pray than run into what may after all be a dangerous trap, may be quite unintended. The Montagu reforms have proved illusory. They have not eased the misery of the poor. On the contrary they have demonstrably increased their burdens. The price that was paid for the reforms was altogether too heavy. I want to pay no price for Dominion Status or whatever name the reality is called by. Why should a creditor have to pay anything for the repayment of debts due to him? I will follow the methods that I have adopted throughout life and, as for instance, in South Africa. Immediately I found that Smuts meant well I capitulated but I did so after having taken a written assurance from him.[4] How the events will shape themselves in the next few days I do not know. But I owe it to you to make my position as clear as I can in a brief letter dictated in the midst of an exacting tour and at night after a fatiguing journey.

Similar letter sent to two other friends who sent cables like yours.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.

From a photostat: G.N. 1407

[1] Which read: "Convinced after seeing Benn sincere desire meet India basis equality. Beg you co-operate this opening door friendship. Arranging amnesty. Love."

[2] Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India

[3] Proposed Round Table Conference

[4] *Vide* Vol. XII.

181. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have nearly finished your monograph on Public Finance. So far as I have gone I like it and I would like to publish it in *Young India*[1] and then perhaps separately in pamphlet form. If you are agreeable please telegraph your assent, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

This letter should be in your hands on Saturday.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. KUMARAPPA
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 10084

182. TELEGRAM TO SAROJINI NAIDU[2]

[KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929][3]

SAROJINI DEVI
TAJMAHAL
BOMBAY

CONSIDER IT IMPOSSIBLE INTERRUPT PROGRAMME DISAPPOINT TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO CANNOT UNDERSTAND INTERRUPTION. INTERVIEW CAN COME IF NECESSARY AFTER

[1] It was published serially in *Young India* from 28-11-1929 to 23-1-1930 with an introduction by Gandhiji; *vide* p. 222. It was later published in book form in 1930 with a foreword by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. XLIII, "Foreword to *Public Finance and Our Poverty*", 20-4-1930.

[2] The addressee's telegram, communicated by Motilal Nehru to Gandhiji, read: "Viceroy expected Bombay sixteenth. Private interview as suggested feasible if authorized by you . . . "; *vide* also *Vithalbhai Patel, Life and Times*, Book II, p. 1064.

[3] The telegram to which this is a reply was received at Kalakankar on November 14 at 12.40 p.m.

24TH. MEANWHILE HOPE MR. JINNAH OTHER FRIENDS WILL RESPOND MOTILALJI INVITATION.

From a photostat: S.N. 15777

183. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

[KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929]

PANDIT NEHRU

REPLIED SAROJINIDEVI SAYING IMPOSSIBLE INTERRUPT PROGRAMME. INTERVIEW CAN COME IF NECESSARY AFTER 24TH. THANKS FOR APPEAL LALAJI MEMORIAL.

From a photostat: S.N. 15777

184. LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

However much we may differ, your letters are always welcome. They serve as a tonic. I am reproducing your letter in full in *Young India* with a short reply[2] of which I send you an advance copy herewith so as not to keep you waiting for the reply for a fortnight which it would take before it is printed as I am sending it to *Young India* from an out-of-the-way place in my U.P. tour. May you live long enough to send me many more letters still. There is no reason why you should not live to see India reach her cherished goal.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ.
NATIONAL HOMECROFT ASSOCIATION LIMITED
CARDIFF

From a photostat: S.N. 15249

[1] Quoting Sarojini Naidu's telegram, *vide* footnote 2, p. 162, the addressee had wired: "Our common friend will take initiative immediately and wire authentic invitation direct if in view important situation you could possibly alter your programme. Specially reach Bombay that date. Wire immediately."

[2] *Vide* "Honest Differences", 21-11-1929.

185. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I remember having received during this tour the letter you refer to but travelling along with me it got itself lost in a pile of papers and escaped my attention altogether. Pray, forgive me. You certainly have my blessings, both you and your wife, and may you have a happy long life dedicated to the service of the motherland. So far as I can see, you were right in leaving your father's house and your father is also right in saying that you may not have it all your own way so long as you depend upon him even for maintaining you. My own feeling is that no boy is fit to be married so long as he is not capable of maintaining himself and is actually not so doing. I feel that even if a grown-up young man is living in his father's house he should contribute his quota of labour to the household and earn his living so that both father and son feel interdependent and free to sever the joint life whenever either party so desires it. I do hope that you will not take up railway service. If you can put up with a life of hard toil you can certainly come to the Udyoga Mandir, see the thing for yourself and if it suits you, you can remain there. And if you can become acclimatized there your wife may follow. The law of the Udyoga Mandir requires strict celibacy even between husband and wife and therefore if your wife comes she would be expected to live apart from you. But if the Udyoga Mandir is too rigorous for you, you can still be accommodated in some national service if you will be content with a humble salary.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ANAND T. HINGORANI
P.O. BALLOKI, DT. LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15690

186. LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

THE SECRETARIES
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
[DURBAN]

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith letter received from the Accounts Officer, Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta, with reference to my application[1] for refund to be made of the amount sent by you for a message which amount was not used.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15767

187. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

I have your letter. I think you did talk to me about the German lady. If she comes to the Ashram of course I shall see her. I hope you were none the worse for the rushing you had during the tour. I am doing well. How is baby doing? You must give me all your impressions as you had promised. I shall reach Allahabad tomorrow and I hope to see Kamala in a comparatively healthy state.

MRS. NARGIS CAPTAIN
78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15768

[1] *Vide* p. 35.

188. LETTER TO SECRETARY, FIJI CONGRESS

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

THE SECRETARY
CONGRESS LAUTOKA
SUVA (FIJI)

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your cablegram[1] about the throwing out of the motion for common franchise. I congratulate the members who have resigned by way of protest. I hope that they will stick to their decision and not seek re-election till a common franchise is granted. United effort and agitation will surely bring about relief at an early period but whether it comes early or late it is perfectly useless to go to the Council unless this elementary thing is done. Please keep me informed of further developments.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15769

189. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. The laxity about sacrificial spinning which is growing among us strikes me as dangerous. It is of course necessary that those who do not spin should give the reason why they do not do so. But these external remedies are just attempts to keep up appearances. Those who do not spin should declare what their real faith is.

I have held for many years that one external step remains to be taken. All activities which are looked upon as *yajna*, that is, dharma or duty, have a fixed time assigned to them. The *namaz*, the *gayatri*, etc., are performed at fixed hours. This is the

[1] *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, Indians in Fiji", 21-11-1929.

meaning behind the notion of *muhurta*[1]. It would therefore be worth while to fix the hour for sacrificial activities as we have fixed hours for meals. If we put upon these activities the same value in our hearts as we do with our lips, we would be able to solve all the difficulties which may arise in fixing such a time. I can understand that all the members of an institution cannot spin at the same hour. For instance, those who are engaged in cooking cannot spin at the same time as others. We may even fix a separate hour when such persons may spin. Think over this suggestion and, if you think it is practicable, discuss it with others. We shall discuss it further after my return and then do what seems best. If you do not think it has any significance, ignore it. You may, if you wish to, remove the rule about the length of the time [for spinning]. If my suggestion can be carried out, the question of removing that rule will not arise. If, however, you wish to fix the hour for spinning and not the length of time, you may do that. Adopt whichever method will safeguard truth.

I had a wire from Mahadev today, telling me that Santok[2] had been operated upon for piles and fistula. This seems to have been a sudden development, for I did not even know till now that Santok suffered from piles. Of course it was good that she was operated upon. I shall know more details when your letter arrives. It would be good if you get Manu's tonsils also removed just now. You need not wait for me, for the operation is a simple one.

Nath must have arrived there. I understand what you say about Marathe. By trying to keep his art a secret, he limits its scope and obstructs its progress. If Nath can convince him of this, Marathe will be happier and have more peace. Ishwarlal told me that, because of this defect of his, students did not like to work under him. I felt that there was a good deal of truth in what he said. I shall have no objection if you wish to show this portion to him. Tell Surendra that, though I write nothing concerning him, I have been every day looking for a letter from him.

Ask Bal to write. Enclosed is a letter for Bhansali. Pass it on to him after reading it. I have discussed some principles in it which it would be good for you to know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4151

[1] Auspicious hour
[2] Maganlal Gandhi's widow

190. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

CHI. KALAVATI,

I have your letter. It is good that you have now got over the loss of your jewellery. If we think deeply over it we shall find that nothing in this world belongs to any one individual. When a certain thing that we had come to regard as ours is lost or destroyed we feel grieved. But if we look upon a thing as belonging not to us but to God, there would be no grief. The question then arises: If nothing belongs to anyone, who should take care of anything and why? The answer is that though we are not the owners of a thing, we hold it, when it has come to us through our labour or through some other rightful means, in trust or guardianship for God. It then becomes our duty to guard it. And, if, in spite of our guarding it with diligence and care, it comes to be destroyed or lost we should not feel grieved.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5241

191. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

KALAKANKAR,
November 15, 1929

CHI. BHANSALI,

I have your letter. You are perfectly entitled to write to me about the Ashram for you have been regarding it as your own. By all means discuss the question with me to your heart's content when we meet. There is certainly much in what you write. The things I do and encourage others to do, I describe as experiments because we cannot be definite about their results. If I had been following the beaten path, I would not have given it the name "experiment". As I have not deduced any new principle, I do not describe the experiment as a fresh discovery. However, as an element of novelty is necessarily involved in put-

ting ancient principles into practice, risks have got to be taken in such experiments. If there is scope for reform or change in the common practice of those principles, it becomes one's duty to effect such reform even if risks have to be taken for the purpose. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4208

192. LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI

November 16, 1929

CHI. SANTOK,

I have now Mahadev's letter from which I learn the details. It is very good that you underwent the operation. I hope you are resting now. Ask Radha[1] or Rukhi[2] to write to me a detailed account.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8678. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

193. THE VALUE OF NATIONAL EDUCATION[3]

Shri Jethalal Jivanlal Gandhi, Secretary of the Gujarat Vidyapith Graduates' Association, writes:[4]

The readers will see that this letter confirms what I said in my first article.[5] If the prevailing atmosphere in the country is good, or if our youth shows the capacity to rise above it, the national schools will brim over with students. Life throbs in the national schools. If nothing more, it does at least produce in the students a spirit of service and self-confidence.

The progress registered in spinning and the use of khadi may be considered satisfactory. But, in my opinion, there is still room for improvement. No one who has been in a national school for any length of time can afford to be half-hearted in his use of

[1] & [2] Addressee's daughters

[3] Translation of this article is adapted from *The Problem of Education.*

[4] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had given the latest information on the activities of the ex-students of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

[5] *Vide* pp. 50-4.

khadi. For instance, if one omits any part of a uniform, one cannot be said to be in uniform. It has to be remembered that khadi is the accepted uniform of national schools and colleges. Just as every right angle has 90 degrees, even so it is with the uniform to be used by the graduates of a national college. We restrict the meaning of uniform only to the kind of cloth used. There is no restriction about the type of clothes to be put on. I think that it should be so. The practice obtained in the gurukuls of olden times and prevails today in the well-known schools of the West. I am inclined to believe that there is a sound basis for it.

The graduates do not yet take sufficient interest in spinning for they have not still fully appreciated its value. If they do, they can easily produce every month heaps of beautiful, well-twisted fine yarn and it will not take much of their time. As long as they are not convinced that swaraj does indeed lie in the self-spun khadi yarn, we have to wait for that full interest to be shown by them in spinning and khadi.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-11-1929

194. *COWDUNG CAKES OR MANURE?*[1]

In the last chapter[2] we discussed human excreta and urine. Since we make no use of animals' urine like that of cows and buffaloes, it only serves to accentuate the filth. Cowdung is mostly used for making cakes for fuel. There is no reason to doubt at all that this is the least use—if not misuse—of cowdung. This is like killing a buffalo for making a lash. The heat produced by cowdung cake is considered to be mild. It is used by those who smoke a hookah or *chilam*[3]. In the Punjab there is a belief that cowdung cake fire is better for making ghee. It is possible that there is some truth in it. But all these arguments are advanced because we use cowdung as fuel. If we make full use of cowdung, various other means can be found to produce a mild fire. If cowdung cakes cost one pie each, the value of the same quantity of cowdung, if fully utilized, will be ten times more. And if we take into account the indirect losses, they are hard to estimate.

[1] This appeared in the *Shikshan ane Sahitya* supplement.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 445-8.
[3] Clay pipe

To make full and good use of cowdung is to use it as manure. Agricultural experts opine that, if we misuse cowdung for fuel, the fields suffer in fertility. A field without manure is as dry as a sweetmeat without ghee. I presume that there are no such farmers in India foolish enough to burn cowdung and buy chemical manure. Moreover, farmers believe that the value of chemical manure when compared with cowdung manure is much less. There are advantages as well as disadvantages in using chemical manure. Although scientists are still making experiments, many of them believe that the use of chemical manure increases the quantity of yield and sometimes improves its appearance also, but the quality certainly suffers. It is the opinion of some scientists that, by using chemical manure in a field of given area the yield of wheat would increase, the grain would be bigger in size and better in appearance, while the yield of wheat in a field of equal size having natural manure may be less, but will excel the former in sweetness and nutritional value. It is possible that after sufficient research the value that is attached to chemical manure today will be considerably lowered.

Whether it be so or not, there can be no two opinions that cowdung must be used only as manure. Hence it is but the village level worker's job to impart full knowledge about the use of cattle dung and urine as manure. It is the volunteer's duty to remove the people's misconception about cowdung cakes, to find out some other substitute fuel, to explain to them by various means the value of cowdung and urine as manure and to gain enough knowledge to be able to explain the above points to the people. The subject is as profitable as it is interesting and, for an industrious researcher, there is a mine of knowledge in it. Readers will see that in this as in regard to human excreta, money or great knowledge is not required, but what is needed is love, the love to which I referred in the last chapter.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1929

195. *THE SAME OLD QUESTIONS*

A reader of *Navajivan* asks:[1]

Such questions have been asked in the past and replies to them have also been given. It seems, however, that the same questions pose themselves before other people. How would a new subscriber or reader of *Navajivan* know what has been written before? Hence, as soon as doubts arise, he asks for a clarification. So long as the majority of people do not take an intelligent interest in public activities, answers to the same questions will have to be given repeatedly.

The above correspondent also writes:

> I ask these questions not for myself; I have full faith in you. Answers are necessary for reassuring others.

Now the replies.

Anyone who has taken the vow of *aparigraha*[2] may not keep anything for himself, but he can keep crores in his custody while acting as a trustee. I am a representative of the poor, the cow, etc. So long as the people put their trust in me, I have a right to ask for money and keep it in my possession on their behalf.

I have not yet been able to collect a sum amounting to rupees one and a half crore but if I live longer, I certainly hope to do so. The one crore rupees belonging to the Tilak Swaraj Fund were entrusted to the Congress. Its accounts have been published in full and the publication can be obtained even today by writing to the secretary or the treasurer of the Congress. The amount collected for the poor is being deposited in the account of the All-India Spinners' Association. Seth Jamnalalji is the treasurer of both these organizations. The money is deposited in well-known banks. The accounts of the All-India Spinners' Association are also published every year and whoever wants them can obtain them by writing to its secretary.

The documents relating to the Ashram and its land have been registered in the names of its trustees.[3] I am not one of them. The

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had questioned the propriety of an austere person like Gandhiji collecting funds, and sought particulars about such funds and property.

[2] Non-possession

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXIX, pp. 434-6.

accounts of the Ashram have also been published and are sent to those friends who contribute towards its expenses.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1929

196. A DILEMMA

A Brahmin youth aged thirty writes:[1]

I was hesitating to publish this letter, but finally decided that this should be done. I have received such letters from two or three different quarters. Some young men have also personally talked to me. From this I conclude that such incidents are not altogether uncommon. Hence discussing them may prove useful to some people.

If what this unhappy Brahmin has written is wholly true, he should be regarded as having knowingly ruined the poor girl. He married at the age of 25. At that age he was a fully mature person. His weakness was not of recent origin, it was there even at the time of marriage. Hence he should have explained his condition to his parents without any false sense of modesty and should have refused to get married. But thinking about what has already been done is futile except in so far as it is useful in seeking a remedy. I feel that even under Hindu law, such a relationship would not be regarded as marriage. If a woman disguises herself as a man and marries another woman, that marriage is not recognized as legal and the latter has full freedom to marry again. Likewise, the marriage of a man who for whatever reasons is impotent even at the time of marriage cannot be regarded as marriage at all. Hence the girl should look upon herself as unmarried and get married again. The young man should frankly admit his mistake before the members of his caste and others and take it upon himself to get her married again. If the parents come in the way of his doing this, he should face their opposition, but carry out his dharma and save the girl.

Young men conceal their impotency and such other ailments; but this should not be necessary. It is the parents and not the children who are responsible for the bad habits the latter contract in their childhood. If the former are negligent, teach their children a false sense of modesty, do not make them their friends and later, if the children unconsciously form bad habits, the fault

[1] The letter is not translated here.

is not theirs but it is the parents alone who are to be blamed.

Hence, when children reach maturity, they should courageously make known their impotency if any and such other defects. If treated in time, such weakness can even be cured. But I cannot advise this particular husband to torture the girl while he makes efforts to regain his potency. If he wishes to undergo treatment after having got the girl settled in another marriage, he is free to do so. But certain precautions are necessary even in doing this. No one can gain true virility by taking *matras*, *tejabs* and *yakutis*[1]. What they do get through these is artificial stimulation. No one has been able by means of *yakutis* to turn a weak mind into a strong one. The remedy for one who has lost his virility is exercise, a wholesome diet, open air and hydrotherapy. And the first thing is to make an effort to give up one's bad habits. Hydrotherapy strengthens the nerve-cells and one gains peace of mind. As a result, bad habits too are brought under control.

It is possible that the girl is not prepared to marry again. In that case she should stay in some institution, accept the dharma of service and get educated. If she is occupied the whole day in ennobling service and studies, it is possible that her desire for sex and for having children will be subdued. Why should she not regard all the children in the world as her own?

But the first step has to be taken by the young man and that is resolutely to make his own weakness known. To be afraid of receiving letters through the post may be regarded as the very limit of degradation. But the present-day atmosphere in our country has become so pathetic that there are many young men who are afraid to get replies to their letters by post. Parents too are certainly to be blamed for this. They have the audacity to read without hesitation letters addressed to their children. Grown-up children are not at all obliged to tell everything or show their letters to their parents. Those parents who desire to read their children's letters without the latter's permission are not parents, but tyrants.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1929

[1] These are various types of medicinal preparations; oxides of metals, acids and intoxicants.

197. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have not yet got the soya bean packets. I note what you have written to Govind Babu. I do not attach any importance to his opinion. You are having your share of sorrows and worries with a vengeance, Tarini incapable, Charu following suit and Hemprabhadevi again bed-ridden. It is appalling. May you have the strength to bear the burden.

I have got a letter from Ram Binod of which I enclose a copy herewith. I also enclose a copy of my reply[1]. Have I correctly represented your position?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encls. 2

From a photostat: G.N. 1612

198. LETTER TO RAM BINOD

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

MY DEAR RAM BINOD,

I have your letter[2] many days after your telegram. From your letter I gather that you propose to take up a legal standpoint. If you wish to do so I have nothing to say. The Association must

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] The addressee had written: ". . . the dispute between me and the Bihar Branch of the A.I.S.A. has been settled finally by arbitration. I have nothing to say in regard to it. I do not see how the matter can now be reopened. Both Rajendra Babu and myself agreed in writing in Calcutta, at your intervention and with your concurrence, to refer the dispute for final decision to arbitration and to accept the award loyally and faithfully as the last word upon the subject. . . . And after going into the matter thoroughly the arbitrators came to a decision which vindicated and upheld me. . . . The Bihar Branch of the A.I.S.A. having agreed to accept the award as final must abide by it. . . . "

then decide according to the opinion of its legal advisers. But I wish to put three things before you. Firstly, I have never looked upon these proceedings as a legal arbitration. Secondly, I was to be the final judge. Satis Babu and Vithaldas Jerajani were to advise me. Thirdly, so far as I am aware Satis Babu himself does not regard his judgment as a legal award. On the contrary he considers it to be a judgment submitted to me for my approval. I have never thought that even I was to give a legal award. My one aim was to arrive at an amicable settlement. You will now please let me know whether you propose to take up your stand upon law and regard the proceedings before Satis Babu as legal [or] as part of an attempt to arrive at an amicable settlement.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAM BINOD
GANDHI KUTIR
MALKHACHAK
P.O. DIGHWARA (BIHAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15761

199. LETTER TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am much obliged to you for your letter[1] of 11th inst. I can in return give you my assurance that I shall not make any indiscreet or illegitimate use of the information you have so generously placed in my possession.

Yours sincerely,

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SAHEB OF BHOPAL
BHOPAL (C.I.)

From a photostat: S.N. 15770

[1] This is not available. In an earlier confidential letter to Gandhiji, the addressee had regretted that people were needlessly criticizing the administration, that he had voluntarily curtailed his expenses and his income was derived from investments made prior to becoming the ruler. With his letter he had enclosed some State documents.

200. *LETTER TO B. RAM VARMA*

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The Raja Saheb of Avagarh has promised a fat contribution but I have not received anything yet. He however said that he would send the contribution at an early date. I have no doubt that he will do so. I have nothing but sweet recollections of my visit to Etah.[1] You were all very kind and I think that the Etah contribution was not bad.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. RAM VARMA
PRESIDENT, DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ETAH

From a photostat: S.N. 15774

201. *SPEECH AT ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY*

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi, expressing appreciation of the address and the purse presented, said what they had done was in the performance of their duty and so he thought that there was no occasion for congratulating the students and the staff on contributing to the Lajpat Rai Fund and for khaddar propaganda.

He referred to a letter[2] which he received after his visit to Lucknow from a student of Lucknow saying that he too had joined in contributing at Lucknow to the purse in the hope that from that moment those contributing would resolve to use always khaddar. But this student expressed his surprise that after leaving Lucknow none appeared to be disposed to work for and use khaddar.

Mahatma Gandhi did not see any meaning in making those presents for khaddar and charkha if they were not at the same time determined to work for khaddar.

[1] On November 8
[2] *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Is It a Sale of Indulgences", 21-11-1929.

So I say that there would be no occasion for my expressing gratitude if it is not your resolve that from today you will work for khaddar.

It was, therefore, his earnest request that they should start doing the work, an appreciation of which they made by presenting the purse.

You say in your address that charkha has a great power but have you made up your mind to work it yourself? I know you can if you only decide to do so.

He was sure that it would not in the least interfere with their studies nor would it affect their mental powers if the students only decided to give half an hour a day to spinning.

Mahatma Gandhi next appealed to the students to form their *sangathan*[1], for their organized effort only could bring swaraj.

He next paid a tribute to the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Some thought, he said, that Lajpat Rai was an enemy of Mohammedans.

But I would say that he was the enemy of none. Lalaji was an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity which was his creed and so was his religion and if you want to respect him you should at least do this that you should make an effort for bringing about unity.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

202. SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, ALLAHABAD

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi giving a joint reply to the addresses expressed his feeling of gratitude at the addresses presented by the Municipal and District Boards and also for the purse presented by the former Board.

He congratulated the Municipal Board on giving instruction in charkha to the children and hoped that the District Board also would introduce charkha in its schools. He also congratulated the Municipal Board on having a leather working school. Mahatma Gandhi said that as he regarded himself a spinner and cultivator he also considered himself a Chamar[2] in view of his having some knowledge of the Chamar's craft as well. He therefore ventured to make a suggestion in respect of the leather industry in India.

He noticed that these days from India nine crores of rupees were sent to foreign countries through the skins of the animals being sent out for

[1] Organization
[2] Leather worker

tanning. In order to save the drain of such a large amount annually, he desired that earnest efforts be made to find out some ways of improving the tanning industry in India. Hitherto even the British had failed to compete successfully with the Germans. Indians were, therefore, advised by Mahatma Gandhi to content themselves with chrome tanning only and to use shoes of chrome leather. If that was done nine crores of rupees would be retained in the country.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi said that he was shocked to hear that like Hardwar, the sacred rivers of Prayag were also allowed to be polluted by sewage water of the Municipality. This news caused much pain to Mahatma Gandhi. The Board thereby not only polluted sacred rivers but also threw in the river thousands of rupees, for otherwise sewage water could be beneficially utilized. He expressed his surprise at the Board being unable to do anything in that respect.

Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the need for making arrangements for the supply of good milk to their constituents. The Boards, in his opinion, would not be considered to have discharged their duties if they did not make arrangements for that. He failed to understand why the Boards had hitherto failed to do such a simple thing.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi asked the audience to go to that evening's public meeting with their pockets full of money to contribute towards the Lajpat Rai Fund as that was the day of Lala Lajpat Rai's death anniversary when they should try to give away as much as they could.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

203. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ALLAHABAD

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi said that it was not for the first time that he had come to Prayag. Pandit Motilal Nehru brought him generally whenever he desired and whenever he liked. But this visit, he said, was his first visit to Allahabad on the mission of begging for *Daridranarayana*.

Allahabad had given him more than Rs. 30,000 of which more than Rs. 16,000 was the share of *Daridranarayana*. For that Mahatma Gandhi offered his congratulations but cautioned the citizens not to feel that they had given him much. Considering the population of two lakhs of Allahabad the collection of a sum of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000 was not a great achievement. He knew that in Allahabad there were men who could pay Rs. 40,000 each, if they only so desired. Mahatma Gandhi's feeling was that when he left Allahabad he would have with him at least Rs. 35,000.

But, he said, he wanted sixty crores of rupees and they could get sixty-six crores if all Indians decided to use only khaddar. The use of khaddar

would save the drain of sixty-six crores of India's money annually to foreign countries and sixty-six crores so saved would be sent into the villages. He paid a tribute to the Raja of Kalakankar and the Lal Sahib of Samastipur[1] who, he said, brought out their precious clothes of foreign stuff and got them burnt. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, asked the citizens of Allahabad to resolve from that day to use nothing but khaddar.

Mahatma Gandhi next paid a tribute to the late Lala Lajpat Rai's memory and expressed suprise that although a year had passed they had not been able to collect even five lakhs of rupees. He referred to the appeal[2] issued under the signatures of some leaders for the Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund and the suggestion of Pandit Motilal Nehru that they should collect at least two lakhs on the day of the first anniversary of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. If they put their heart into the work he did not think it was a great thing to collect two lakhs.

If they had the least respect, Mahatma Gandhi added, for the late Lala Lajpat Rai they should give as much as they could that day for the Memorial Fund. Allahabad was the place where the present and future Presidents[3] of the Indian National Congress lived, it was the place where the Committee[4] was located and where a big university was established and so if they would not get money here where else would they be able to get it? Lala Lajpat Rai, he said, had given his life in the work for swaraj and India should, therefore, resolve to do within a year what Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to do.

People should forget what the Viceroy said or would say or what Mr. Wedgwood Benn said or would say and what the leaders would discuss. What India was to get would not come from London but would come from the Indians themselves from their own strength. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, appealed to the people to organize themselves for the work to attain swaraj. Until there was an awakening about his rights in even the smallest cultivator there would be no real swaraj. Everything depended on the power of the people themselves and therefore he appealed to the people to do everything to increase their strength and organization.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

204. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

November 18, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

Here is my draft[1]. I want you to consider it carefully and take your full share in the discussion tonight. I do not want you to suppress yourself in any way whatsoever except where *you* feel that self-suppression is better than self-expression on particular occasions. After all we must each serve according to our lights, not borrowed.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

205. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE[2]

November 18, 1929

Having considered the Viceregal pronouncement[3] of 1st instant and the manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to the other political parties in the country, the events that have happened thereafter both in India and England and the advice tendered by friends and well-wishers, the Working Committee approves of the action taken by Congressmen and defers further consideration pending the holding of the forthcoming session of the National Congress.

From a photostat: S.N. 15593

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] As passed by the Congress Working Committee, the resolution read: "Having regard to the Viceregal pronouncement of November 1, the Delhi manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to other political parties in the country and the events that have subsequently happened and having regard to the opinions of friends that the response from the British Government to the Delhi manifesto should be further awaited before the policy laid down therein is revised, the Working Committee confirms the action taken by Congressmen at Delhi, it being clearly understood that this confirmation is constitutionally limited to the date of the holding of the forthcoming session of the Congress." *The Pioneer*, 20-11-1929

[3] *Vide* Appendix I.

206. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

PRAYAG [Allahabad],
November 18, 1929

BHAISHRI VALJI,

It is not worth while to do that business in grass. The other expenditure will be more than the cost of the material itself. It is necessary to inform Nagindas about this.

The venture proposed by Vrajmohanlal Varma is of little value. I saw him. Reply to him directly from there and tell him that we cannot give him any help.

If I still have the subscription list relating to Hasanand, it may be somewhere in the file there. I shall search for it after I return there.

I have still not been able to take those essays in hand.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7403. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

207. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

November 18, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have your letter. It is the assurance of the *Gita*, and is proved in experience, that anyone who strives sincerely for self-control is bound to succeed in his effort. Of course such striving requires patience. More when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9496

208. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

PRAYAG,
November 18, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letters. For some time now Pyarelal's inspiration has dried up. I was put to such trouble in revising his articles that I relieved him of the burden of writing. The articles became so weak that, even after revision, they lacked vigour. Pyarelal also saw this and so, for the present, he looks after the correspondence. The last three letters from U.P.[1] were written by me. I thought it advisable during this tour to write the letters myself and sign them. None of us knows how the signature A originated. Personally, I wanted the signature P to continue to appear. But I thought that Valji may have deliberately replaced P, and if that was so I did not wish to alter the new practice and did not ask any question about it.

I do not remember anything about the cow Jill.[2]

It is surprising that though the matter for *Navajivan* was posted with great care, it reached there on Saturday instead of Friday. To run a journal from a distance is certainly a species of bravado, but that has been the position ever since I started running a journal.

As Jamnalalji is also here, you are the only one absent from the company. How can I manage to give accounts of the events here? Devdas is lazy in such matters, and Pyarelal is happy-go-lucky. You may, therefore, go on complaining as much as you choose.

I have finished reading Brayne's second book[3] too. That man's zeal atsonishes me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11464

[1] *Vide* pp. 40-2, 69-72, 105-7, 152-7; also "The U. P. Tour–X", 21-11-1929 and "The U. P. Tour–XI", 28-11-1929.

[2] *Vide* Frontispiece of Vol. XXXIV.

[3] On village uplift; *vide* pp. 3-4.

209. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

PRAYAG,
Silence Day, November 18, 1929

SISTERS,

I write about an idea which occurred to me from Santok's operation. Indian women feel reluctant to get themselves examined by doctors. This is a wrong attitude. We have suffered much because of it. *This sense of shame has its origin not in purity but in impurity.* I should like the women in the Ashram to get rid of this superstition. If Dr. Haribhai had not been permitted to operate upon Santok, the operation would not have been performed and her life would have been in danger. No woman should hesitate to let herself be examined even by a male doctor. Since the patient would be accompanied by her relatives and friends, she need have no fear. Perhaps you do not know that I had called in a male doctor at the time of Ba's last confinement. She had an operation once and that too was done by a male doctor. Ba lost nothing by this. In such matters, all that is necessary is to change one's attitude. That is why I have put this matter before you. If you wish to ask me anything about this, do so on Tuesday the 26th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3710

210. LETTER TO NANDKISHORI

PRAYAG,
Silence Day [November 18, 1929][1]

CHI. NANDKISHORI,

You have asked a pertinent question. Whether one's love is pure or not can be judged only by its manifestation. The love of a mother indulging her offspring with luxuries proceeds from ignorance. That wife's love is selfish who is reluctant to stay

[1] In 1929, Gandhiji was in Prayag on this date. This letter was included in the collection of letters received from Ramniklal Modi who was Manager of the Ashram in late 1929.

away from her husband even in the interest of his dharma. We can note innumerable such instances.

Those people who do not wish to observe the rules have no place in the Ashram. But the others, who are making honest though unsuccessful efforts, do have and should have a place.

In the Ashram we do not follow the policy of punishment for transgression of the rules or for other lapses.

May you ever pass your life in such a thoughtful manner.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 1638. Courtesy: Ramniklal Modi

211. LETTER TO TOTARAM SANADHYA

PRAYAG,
Silence Day [November 18, 1929][1]

BHAI TOTARAMJI,

The doctor's opinion about Gangadevi is not to be entirely relied upon. For the present she needs nothing besides milk, curds and fruits. Anyway I am returning soon. After observing Gangadevi's health and her wishes I shall make the changes that may be necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2335

212. LETTER TO CHAND TYAGI

PRAYAG,
Silence Day [*November 18, 1929*][1]

BHAI TYAGIJI,

Enquire from Pandit Devsharmaji regarding Balbir and the climate. If coconut is not available sesame or linseed [oil] may be used.

I am keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHAND TYAGIJI
GURUKUL MAYAPUR
P.O. KANKHAL
DT. SAHARANPUR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6096

213. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

Unrevised

CAMP MIRZAPUR,
November 19, 1929

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I got your letter from New York yesterday at Allahabad, took the early morning train today to come to Mirzapur and here I am dictating this letter to Pyarelal whilst I am spinning. I am glad that you will not write anything final without consultation. I was receiving so many cautions and I had distrusted with good reason so many things said about Br.[2] that I thought if I published your letter as I wanted to, I ought to utter the word of caution I did.[3] I am glad about the improved climate. The touring has never hurt me but there certainly was some defect in the raw food experiment. Almost everyone broke down and four or five who are bravely carrying on are not able to show brilliant results.

[1] From the postmark
[2] Presumably Brockway; *vide* p. 161.
[3] Presumably in the article "My Position", 14-11-1929; *vide* pp, 150-1.

But they are carrying on because they have the scientific spirit in them.

Of course, anything that might be received from the Macmillan Company[1] will be going to the Pearson Memorial in the Shantiniketan for which, I am glad, you have secured the services of a quaker doctor. You will be glad to learn that prompted by H. G. Alexander, a young quaker, whom perhaps you know, Reginald Reynolds has come to the Ashram. I have not yet met him but hope to do so on the 25th. His two weeks' experience, he tells me, confirms the first happy impression produced upon him by Indian contacts.

Of course, I want you whenever you can come. But I do not want you to interrupt your work. So long as you think that the West needs you do by all means stay there. Of events here you know everything I suppose.

The Joint Conference took place last night at which we came to a workable formula. I am doing my utmost best to smooth the way of Lord Irwin. The rest I must leave Pyarelal to fill up.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 996

214. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 19, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your tragic letter in Mirzapur.

What a sad fate! What crimes do we not commit in the name of service! Has Prasannababu left any children?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

[PS.]

May God make Hemprabhadevi healthy.[2]

From a photostat: G.N. 1613

[1] Royalty payments for the American edition of *An Autobiography* edited by C. F. Andrews

[2] The postscript is in Hindi.

215. *LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI*

MIRZAPUR,
November 19, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. I have already written to you concerning spinning.[1] I need not, therefore, write more about it. I have even written to Chhaganlal and told him that I do not agree with his view. If his objection is valid, it strikes at the very root of all rules. If we need the restriction of rules, we have to relax or stiffen them as we may find necessary from experience. That involves no question of principle. If, however, it is necessary to discuss this matter, we shall do that when all of us meet.

I intend to send away Ba, Kusum and Jayanti four days earlier. The journey from now onwards will be rather difficult. The facilities available will be few. Cars will have to be hired. In such circumstances, I wish to have the smallest number accompanying me. Prabhavati left for Patna yesterday. Mirabehn will start tomorrow. Hence, only Pyarelal, and possibly Devdas, will remain with me. I have not looked up the time-table to see by what train they will reach Ahmedabad. I will, therefore, send a wire later. Send word to Ranchhodbhai or Anasuyabehn to have a car waiting at the station.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4152

216. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MIRZAPUR,
November 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I myself find it difficult to understand my telegram of which you have sent me a copy. The message does not seem to have been transmitted correctly. Be that as it may. The Bombay Women's Council workers use English thread for embroidery work on khadi, but their articles are not

[1] On November 14; *vide* pp. 166-7.

boycotted for that reason. This practice has been going on for many years. Hence follow it this time too. I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5470

217. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOUDHRI

MIRZAPUR,
November 19, 1929

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I got your letter. I had forgotten about ghee. There was no need to abstain from ghee in my presence. Give up the restriction and take the required quantity of ghee. You must build up your body. My train will reach Ajmer on the 25th morning. It will be my day of silence.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]
Bapu : Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?

218. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

BANDA,
November 20, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I should have had a letter from you, but did not get one. Probably I shall get it at some other place. I told you in my letter yesterday that Ba, Kusum and Jayanti would arrive there on Thursday, but later I changed my mind about Jayanti. I thought that he should utilize this opportunity and see Agra, Jaipur and Ajmer. In my judgment, there was nothing special for him to see or get experience of during the remaining four days of the tour, and so I sent him away to see the three cities. Ba and Kusum seemed reluctant at the last moment to leave early and arrive there ahead of me, and, therefore, I did not insist. Having stayed on, however, she collected today her share of the contributions. Because she was with me, by her presence she consoled hundreds of women in places which I could not visit.

And on the way, travelling in another car she received purses while I slept. That was a gain for the poor and gave some satisfaction to the people. Now all of us will arrive there together on Monday evening by the meter gauge. Send word to Anasuyabehn and Ranchhodbhai to arrange for a car.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4153

219. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

BANDA,
November 20, 1929

CHI. MIRA,[1]

Our train being two hours late, the whole of the programme was upset. It was somewhat set right by my forgoing the afternoon rest and putting off the bath for the night station. I finished spinning at 9.30. It is now nearly 10 p.m. But I may not retire before writing this.

The foregoing preface is to show you I have been thinking of you the whole day long. Now that you are away from me, my grief over having grieved you is greater.[2] No tyrant has yet lived who has not paid for the suffering he has caused. No lover has ever given pain without being more pained. Such is my state. What I have done was inevitable. Only I wish I did not lose temper. But such is my brutality towards those I love most. But now that you are away from me, I can think of nothing but your extraordinary devotion. May God remove what I consider is your *moha*[3] or may He open the eyes of my understanding and let me see my error.

You are to keep well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5379. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9435

[1] The superscription in this and other letters to Mirabehn is in Devanagari script.

[2] Gandhiji had reproached the addressee for being over-anxious about his health.

[3] Ignorant attachment

220. *NOTES*

Indians in Fiji[1]

A cablegram from Suva says, "Indian members motion common franchise rejected Council today all three resigned". This means that the Fijian Legislative Council would not have Indians on a common franchise. That would be too much for the white exploiters of Indian labour. The Indian members elected by Indian electors only have really no influence in the Legislative Council. I congratulate the three members on their patriotic spirit in having resigned from the Council by way of protest. I hope that they will on no account reconsider their decision unless a common franchise is obtained. Having resigned however they must not sit idle but continue their agitation for the simple justice to which they are entitled. If the Indian colony in Fiji is well organized, the citadel of anti-Indian prejudice is bound to break down through united effort.

Is It a Sale of Indulgences?

A student writes from Lucknow as follows:[2]

I should be sorry to discover that the students and others who pay to the khadi fund do so not with the intention of using khadi themselves but merely as a salve for their conscience. I have warned audiences paying their subscriptions that their payment of subscription is an earnest of their desire to wear khadi as far as they can. The writer of the letter seems to think that khaddarites do not subscribe. The fact however is that those who wear khadi are the largest single subscribers. If people merely paid subscriptions to the khadi fund and none used khadi, the subscriptions would be perfectly useless, for they are not given as donations to the poor but as a return for work done, and if the fruits of their work are not used by the people, their work becomes useless.

[1] *Vide* also p. 166.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent reported that students considered their duty ended with payment of subscription to the khadi fund. *Vide* also pp. 177-8.

KHADI BUYERS BEWARE[1]

The Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association writes:[2]

This is a very serious matter. It is necessary for all buyers of khadi to be very cautious about their purchases. Of course those who are satisfied with the ordinary khadi that one gets in the different provinces are generally safe, but those who will wear fine Andhra khadi or none at all have need to be most particular about what they buy. The Association has repeatedly warned the public that they should not regard any khadi as genuine which does not come from a certificated khadi bhandar. The list of cerificated khadi bhandars has been already published in the papers and can be had for the asking against an anna stamp from the Secretary of the Association. So much for the public. What is one to say however of those who are selling spurious khadi and thus damaging a vast national movement specially designed in the interest of famishing millions? Even as a butcher may to a certain extent be humane, so should these merchants set a limit to their greed and exempt at least the famishing millions from their fraudulent operations. I shall be glad to learn that this paragraph has caught the eye of these Tuni merchants and that they will cease to sell spurious khadi.

Young India, 21-11-1929

221. HONEST DIFFERENCES[3]

Mr. J. B. Pennington whom the readers of *Young India* will recognize as the nonagenarian friend writes under date 6th October:

> This is most likely the last time I shall worry you with my despairing efforts, but I must just say that I am glad you declined the Presidentship of the Congress because I suppose it means that you prefer to be independent, and, I hope, determined to exercise your own judgement in these critical times, no matter what happens. You never answered my question as to whether you were prepared to be the first president of the Indian republic, perhaps because you thought it was a ridiculous question which it certainly was not; because if you, with your unrivalled

[1] A note on the same subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 15-12-1929.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had listed names of merchants in Tuni (Andhra) who were passing off mill-yarn cloth as genuine khadi.

[3] *Vide* also p. 163.

experience and reputation, are not fit for the job, I don't know who is—and it must be a republic or chaos, if you get rid of us. Is it quite impossible for you to work with the present administration, say, for another 10 years, till you find your feet? Your experience at Bardoli shows that you can influence even the present Government by ordinary means, and once associated with it on equal terms you could easily get all you want *without bloodshed* of which, God knows, we have had more than enough for one generation. Still hoping for the best in India.

I have no doubt the reader will share with me the wish and the hope that Mr. Pennington may live many a long year to send his letters and even to see India reach her cherished goal. Who can withhold admiration for the consistent zeal and industry Mr. Pennington is evincing in the pursuit of what he considers to be the right course? Nor can one deny his downright honesty. That he may not think as we toiling under the British harrow do is a limitation for which he is not responsible. In any case his wonderful zeal, industry and optimism are worthy of imitation by the youth of the country.

And now for the reply to Mr. Pennington's question. I do remember his question about the first president of the future Indian republic. If I must for the time being give up my modesty, I must tell Mr. Pennington in confidence that if there was an Indian republic in my lifetime and the burden was imposed upon me by the simple people of the country, I daresay that it would not break me. At any rate I should make a fair effort to shoulder it. What however I am striving for is not a life of isolation for India but a life of association with the British on absolutely equal terms. Republic or chaos is, in my opinion, an easy thing to get if we would but make up our minds to copy our English tutors and begin to break heads here, there and everywhere without dreading the consequences. That however would not please me, and a republic so gained would not probably find me alive, but if it did, its first duty would be not to install me on the throne but to put me under the gallows. The republic therefore of my imagination would have to be a republic gained by non-violent means, and if the country would continue its choice of non-violence and truth as the method *par excellence* fo attaining its goal, it would not need to drive the English out, but it would have converted the English who under that state of conversion would work as willing servants of the country and would deem it an honour to live on Indian sufferance. If such a consummation comes to pass, it would be something of which India will have every reason to be proud and for which the

world will be the richer. It may be a dream never to be fulfilled but it is enough for me that it makes me happy. Mr. Pennington will now see why it is quite impossible for me to work with the *present administration*, even for a day, let alone 10 years. Under the present administration equality is an impossibility. It is an administration which, I hold, has proved ruinous to India and is based upon brute force. The fundamental difference between Mr. Pennington and Indian nationalists is that the latter consider that India is fit today for administering her own affairs without the patronizing help of any outsider. If a robber by sheer force of arms has dispossessed me of my estate and holds me as his slave, it does not mean that I therefore consider myself to be unfit to own my estate although I may not have sufficient arms to enable me to dispossess him of the estate unlawfully gained by him. Thirdly, Mr. Pennington's memory surely betrays him when he says that the present Government was influenced by ordinary means with reference to Bardoli[1]. It was just the extraordinary means discovered by non-co-operators that were employed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel with consummate skill and absolute faithfulness that influenced the Government, and it is just these extraordinary means which I would like the country to adopt, and I know that it will reach its goal as surely as the simple peasants of Bardoli did.

Lastly, I would like Mr. Pennington to follow up the ideal for which the Association with which he is intimately connected is working. The printed letter-heads which Mr. Pennington uses for his letters are issued from the office of the National Homecroft Association Ltd., whose object is

> to promote the development of homecroft settlements; i.e., suburban food-raising areas designed to accommodate working class families in individual homes, erected upon individual crofts, of such size and equipment as will enable the family food to be produced from the family's soil by the family's own off-time labour.

At the bottom of each sheet the following quotation from Ruskin is printed:

> But since we live in an epoch of change and too probably of revolution, and thoughts which are not to be put aside are in the minds of all men capable of thought, I am obliged to affirm the one principle which can and in the end will close all epochs of revolution — that each man shall possess the ground he can use and no more.

[1] The Bardoli Satyagraha; *vide* Vol. XXXVII.

I hope both Mr. Pennington and the readers will recognize the inconsistency between the mentality which on the one hand tolerates an empire based on exploitation and on the other believes in 'each man possessing the ground he can use and no more'. I wonder if Mr. Pennington thinks that the 100 thousand English men and women who are in possession of India can really use an area 1,800 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. Again, how can the dispossession of 300 millions of people by a nation which has its own home possibly be justified?

Young India, 21-11-1929

222. *IMPLICATIONS OF THE WHEEL*

A friend sends the following cutting[1] headed "A Century Behind the Times" from the *Textile World*:

This is an instance of argument suiting preconceived ideas. The author of the note has evidently not taken the trouble of understanding the implications of what he calls the "Gandhi Movement", meaning of course the hand-spinning movement. The spinning movement aims at restoring spinning to the millions of cottages of India from which it was removed by unjust, illegal and tyrannical methods. The movement could not have been started, if somehow or other the cottages which were deprived of this universal supplementary industry had had a substitute provided for it. Unfortunately or fortunately no substitute was provided. Hence sheer necessity compelled the students of village life, after having exhausted all other means, to resort to the spinning-wheel as the only immediate solution for the serious economic distress that had overtaken the millions of India's homes by reason of the extinction of cottage spinning. The moment these millions can have a better substitute, they are at liberty to give up the spinning-wheel, and no one would be more glad than I to see these millions possess a better substitute. No doubt the authors of the movement do think that so far as human understanding can go, there seems to be no hope of finding a better substitute than the spinning-wheel. Indeed their conviction is that, as soon as the existing exploitation of the so-called weaker nations of the earth by the strong nations of the West ceases as it is bound some

[1] Not reproduced here. It described the offer of a prize by the "Gandhi Movement" for a speedier spinning-wheel as an open admission of its basic economic error.

day to cease, the whole world will have to return to the spinning-wheel. Whether however that event comes to pass or not, unless India becomes an exploiting nation and discovers new nations to exploit, or unless an independent India develops brute strength enough to compel the nations of the West to buy the goods that she may dump down on their soil as India is virtually compelled today to receive goods dumped down on her soil, India must, if she is to rid herself of her economic distress, manufacture the articles of necessity in her own cottages just as she produces her corn, the prime necessity of life, in her own fields. There is therefore no contradiction in the authors of the spinning movement trying to secure a wheel or a machine which would enable the cottagers in their own cottages to spin more or finer yarn in the same given time as the existing spinning-wheel does. The writer of the note should know that this progressive method of improving home machines has been handed down from ancient times. The *takli* or the distaff was displaced by the spinning-wheel. The spinning-wheel itself underwent gradual improvement as one sees even today from the different old patterns working in different provinces. The process of improvement was suddenly arrested when the spinning-wheel went out of fashion. The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association is therefore but following the course that was suddenly stopped by the machinations of the East India Company's agents. The fact is that neither the Council nor I have any objection to machines as such, but we do submit that it is wrong to carry the process of mechanization of industry so far as to kill the cottage industries and concentrate them within a narrow field; in other words, they are against urbanization of India at the expense of her rural civilization and rural life. The writer in the *Textile World* states that a machine meeting practically all the requirements of the contest was in use in America more than a century ago. The adverb 'practically' is a disturbing factor, but if there is such a machine in America in existence and if any American inventor will take the trouble of so adjusting it as to meet all the requirements of the contest, he will not only receive the prize offered by the Association, but he will earn also the thanks of the dumb millions. But let the critics understand that even if such a machine is not invented and the prize is not won, the spinning movement will still continue its onward march. The Association feels thankful for its ability to serve 1,50,000 women in nearly 2,000 villages of India and through them serve also a number of weavers, washermen, tailors, printers and the like. The Association hopes, too, to cover

every one of the seven hundred thousand villages and bring a ray of hope to their cottages where today blank despair reigns supreme.

Young India, 21-11-1929

223. IN THE NAME OF RELIGION

The Secretary of the Youth League, Dharwar, writes:[1]

If what is stated in the letter is at all true it betrays a shocking state of things and an undoubted reversion to barbarism. It is a matter for deep sorrow and humiliation that there should be educated men enough in the country who believe that there are gods who can be appeased or conciliated by the sacrifice of animals and if the manner of killing the innocent goats is correctly described by the Secretary of the Youth League of Dharwar, it is an inhuman act done in the name of religion. I should hope that there is exaggeration in the statement made by the Secretary. There is a similar letter from Bengal also in which the writer asks me to condemn the animal sacrifices that go on daily in the name of religion in that great province. If my condemnation of these sacrifices can save a single animal from slaughter it is there with all the force I can command. But there seems to be just now the fashion to encourage such sacrifices and to justify them. A correspondent from Madras sends me papers containing accounts of such slaughter done by learned Brahmins in the Madras Presidency. I wish that Youth Leagues all over the country will rise in revolt against these sacrifices and cultivate public opinion so as to make them impossible. I have heard it argued that since the stopping of animal sacrifices people have lost the warlike spirit. There were animal sacrifices enough in Europe before Christianity. Europe does not seem to have lost its warlike spirit because of the stopping of degrading and debasing animal sacrifices. I am no worshipper of warlike spirit, but I know that warlike spirit is not to be cultivated by the slaughter, in a terribly cruel manner, of helpless, innocent, unresisting dumb fellow-creatures.

Young India, 21-11-1929

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had described revival of animal sacrifice by some Brahmins in his district.

Gandhiji and indeed the whole party were quite glad to be away even for 24 hours from the din and noise of eager crowds. But there were also several other things here that added to Gandhiji's happiness. The young ladies of the Kalakankar house do not observe the *purdah*. The Raja Saheb and they are habitual wearers of khadi. But in order to clear his wardrobe of every vestige of foreign cloth the Raja Saheb had devised a foreign cloth burning ceremony as part of the public meeting. There was a new bride who had arrived only eight days ago. She had a fair amount of foreign cloth in her wardrobe. She too gave up its foreign contents for the altar. But the largest and the richest contribution had come from Raja Lal Saheb of Samaspur. Before igniting the pyramid of foreign cloth arranged on the altar in a corner of the meeting well-fenced and well-protected, Gandhiji scanned every article carefully, and we could observe that it delighted him to see heavily embroidered robes, richly decorated fine Parisian lace, very expensive *saris* and the like. As he ignited the pyramid and the flames rose to the skies, there arose also a loud shout of joy from the crowds who now eagerly surrounded the fence and witnessed the ceremony. The handle of the torch which was given to Gandhiji for igniting the pyramid was silver mounted. It was of course auctioned and it was knocked down to Lal Saheb of Samaspur for Rs. 500. I must close this rapid sketch of the events of the past week with a summary of a portion of Gandhiji's speech to the Kalakankar public meeting.

'It gives me great joy,' said Gandhiji, 'to see you all and to see the Raja Saheb dressed even as you are and mixing freely with you. I had the privilege of meeting him in Lucknow when on behalf of the Reception Committee he had housed me in his Lucknow residence. As he was dressed like a volunteer, the members of my party could not distinguish between him and the other volunteers, and he had therefore been unconsciously entrusted with menial duties without the slightest hesitation by one of my party. As if it was perfectly natural for him he performed that duty with alacrity. When a member of the party subsequently came to know who it was who was given menial work he reported the matter to me. Personally I was delighted that the zamindars and Rajas were to be found to delight in rendering service involving menial work. It gives me additional joy to find that the Raja Saheb is living here in the midst of his own ryots just as simply and naturally as I found him living in Lucknow. I hope that the other young talukdars will copy this example, and if only the rich people whether titled or not will act as I

believe the Raja Saheb is acting, that is, as trustee for the people and holding the zamindari as their trustee and protector, they should soon be perfectly happy. The dream I want to realize is not spoliation of the property of private owners but to restrict its enjoyment so as to avoid all pauperism, consequent discontent and the hideously ugly contrast that exists today between the lives and surroundings of the rich and the poor. The latter must be enabled to feel that they are co-partners with their zamindars and not their slaves, to be made to labour at the latter's sweet will and to be made to pay all kinds of exactions on all conceivable occasions. You and they the zamindars should shed mutual fear and mutual distrust, and if both do so, you will also shed the common fear of authority. The Government can do no harm to you or to them if only you both act on the square. You have seen me give up to flames expensive robes and other clothing of zamindars made of foreign yarn. I regard it as a sacred rite. You may not today understand the significance of this *havan*—sacrifice. But I doubt not that this silver-mounted torch will, if it is preserved by its would-be buyer, find a lodgment one day in the national museum which the future national Government is bound to establish for all such collections reminding posterity of the phases that the struggle for freedom went through. This campaign against foreign cloth through khadi and all it means for the starving millions will, I have not a shadow of a doubt, go down in history as one of the most important if not the most important item in the national programme. The burning of foreign fineries means that the owners have from today established a living bond between you and them, and secondly it means that they have discarded the enervating, debasing and unmanly taste for gaudy garments and jewellery and have made up their minds henceforth voluntarily to live as simply even as you are living, perhaps under compulsion.'

Young India, 21-11-1929

226. SOME POSERS

A reader writes:

> I have the honour to state that I am a humble servant and a faithful follower of the Congress. In connection with your non-co-operation movement I have also undergone nine months rigorous imprisonment. I hope you will kindly answer the following questions and remove my doubts.

His first question is:

> Do you know that . . . has co-operated with the Simon Commission and has sent in a memorandum also notwithstanding the fact that he is a prominent Congressman and wears khadi? With such gentlemen in the Congress do you still expect the country's deliverance through the Congress?

A country's deliverance does not depend on one man. Everyone whether good or bad, has a right to be in the Congress. If the number of those that follow all the mandates of the Congress is large, then the country's deliverance is certain. So we should not worry about what others do. Let each one ask himself 'what am I doing?'

The second question is:

> By encouraging the students to boycott schools and colleges have you benefited the country?

I am thoroughly convinced that those who boycotted schools and colleges have done nothing but good to themselves and to their country. On account of this the colleges and other institutions have lost prestige. The country has gained good volunteers in the few students who left these institutions. It is to the credit of the boycott that today, even though in a small number, there are some national schools in the country that help much in the struggle for freedom. I have already mentioned in the *Hindi Navajivan* how much the Gujarat Vidyapith alone has helped in this struggle. If we evaluate in this manner the work of the other national universities we shall understand, to a certain extent, the importance of the boycott of Government schools and colleges. I have up till now met very few people who find fault with the principle of boycott. People are mostly of the opinion that the country was not prepared for such sacrifice in 1920-21 nor is it even now. This means the

country was not prepared for swaraj in those days, nor is it now. If this is true let us stop denouncing boycott and perpare the ground for it.

Here is his third question:

> How far is it profitable for each and every person to spin on the charkha and what can he earn from this for his living? In that same time can he not earn more by doing some better work?

This question has been asked several times and the answer has been given again and again. It is that those who ply the charkha for pecuniary gain can certainly give it up if they get a more profitable occupation. The main object of the promoters of the charkha has been to provide occupation for crores who have no other occupation. To those who consider it a sacrifice to ply the charkha the question of gain or loss does not arise. The sacrificer never thinks of his own gain. He considers the good of all as his own good.

The fourth question is:

> From the political point of view, how far can the charkha help? In the olden days widows and women of ordinary families used to spin on the charkha. Today why do you force men to ply the charkha?

In my opinion, the political contribution of the charkha is very great; because from the political point of view it is very essential to boycott foreign cloth and this can be successful only with the help of khadi. In such matters there can be no difference between man and woman, between widow and married woman. The charkha sacrifice is universal.

The fifth question runs thus:

> Did you and other leaders ever give any help to the workers who have come out of jail? If not, what advice did you give them regarding their future career? What should they do now? Is it proper for a freedom fighter to tell his comrade courting arrest that he should expect nothing from the Congress leaders and that he should be prepared to be left in the lurch as the volunteers of the Congress appear to be left today?

I have not come across even one such worker released from jail who, deserving help, has not received it. I know workers who have received much help. I also know some workers who make fantastic demands and take offence at a refusal.

The sixth question is:

> The Congress leaders are entitled to special privileges in jail while volunteers are treated like common prisoners. Have they—the leaders—

any right to such privileges? And if they accept these should the public have any regard for them?

In my opinion the satyagrahi prisoners should not ask for any special privilege. They should not even expect any such favour.

The seventh question is as follows:

You collected one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Can you kindly say how that money which was collected in the name of the poor is being spent and how the common people benefit from it?

The accounts of the Fund have been published. Even today, copies of it can be had from the Congress office. With this money the Congress has been able to carry on its work vigorously for nine years.

The eighth question is:

Why was it wrong to sit at a Round Table Conference with the Viceroy after 1921? If so, can you kindly say how it is right to take part in the very same Round Table Conference now? Will you attain swaraj for India only through this Round Table Conference? Did you mean swaraj to be only this? If so, why did you not announce it in 1921 itself? If not, what was the point in non-co-operating with the Government and starting a kind of dreadful war between the King and his subjects, which resulted in the destruction of hundreds of homes? And for obtaining Dominion Status in this way what do we owe to the Congress leaders?

If the Viceroy had accepted the conditions presented to him a second time by the Congress then there was no harm in taking part in the Round Table Conference. But the demands of the Congress were not accepted. Even today because the demands of the Congress have not been accepted, I think it is wrong to take part in the Round Table Conference.

Freedom cannot be secured by a conference or by any outside means. If a conference is called under proper conditions it can certainly be a measure of the people's strength. For this reason, I have already stated that the people should not even think of the Conference. Our work is to consolidate the people's strength; in other words, we must succeed in the boycott of foreign cloth and other constructive activities. His last question is:

You also claim that the Congress is the only body that can give a true picture of the hardships of the country and also redeem it from them. Do you still have faith in the Congress leaders after witnessing their performance? If so, can you say that the public also has faith in them? If not, can you say what ways you have thought of to reform this body?

The Congress has many faults. Nowadays many selfish people have entered the Congress; yet, compared to other bodies, the Congress has more good points; there is certainly plenty of room for reforming it. If it is not reformed the Congress cannot be saved from destruction.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 21-11-1929

227. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BANDA,
November 21, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

Jamnalalji informed me about your having arrived at Wardha. During your stay there regain your health completely and have no hesitation at all in asking for whatever things you may find necessary for the purpose. While you are there, finish your study of the *Gita*, etc., which you may have planned to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9271

228. LETTER TO MOHANLAL K. MEHTA

KULAPAHAR,
November 21, 1929

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL,

I have your letter. A vow once taken ought not to be given up even though not merely three but three thousand friends urge you to do so and hold out threats against you if you do not comply.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 235

229. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

November 22, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I am writing this in the train which is taking me to Jhansi. I have had no letter from you for some days. The letters must be following me from place to place, or you may not have written any. Chhaganlal seems to have been detained by the Punjab workers. I think that he should stay on. That will give him experience and some rest too from the worries in the Ashram.

You should not carry excessive burden.

When I arrive there on Monday, I intend to go and see Santok the same night and then proceed to the Mandir. Make arrangements accordingly. That is, Santok should know. She need not, of course, keep awake. Those with the car should know where she is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4154

230. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ORAI,
November 23, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

We have just motored from Chirgaon where I got your note sent by hand. It was a clear 51 miles' drive. Ba is preparing hot water. Meanwhile I am writing this to you. It is somewhat taxing programme today; only half of it is finished. Tomorrow the last day is not very heavy.

You were bound to have cheering company there. Let your study of village life be thorough this time. And you must give yourself enough leisure. There must not be a collapse as on the last occasion. You must procure some privacy daily.

I was sorry I could not correct your pronunciation of those verses. It proved really impossible. I made an effort often. But I saw that I could not put off the work in hand. If Wardha

gives me some leisure, I must try there. But of course you have Balkrishna there to help. But we must see.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

This was not posted at Orai. On reaching Amraiya I got your wire. I expect to hear more now at Sabarmati about the new development.

From the original: C.W. 5380. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9436

231. TELEGRAM TO RUCHIRAM SAHNI

[On or after *November 23, 1929*][1]

WHILST I APPRECIATE HONOUR SHALL HAVE NO TIME SHOULDER BURDEN. MOREOVER MY WAY OFTEN DIFFERENT FROM ORTHODOX REFORMER'S. PRAY EXCUSE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15574

232. BECOME A CHILD

A four-year-old boy asked: "Father, what do you mean by women?"

Father, disconcerted, said: "Sisters and mothers are known as women."

The boy said: "I see, women are persons who cook, clean utensils and wash clothes, is it not so?"

This is not an imaginary conversation but one which has been selected from many conversations which have actually taken place. The father's definition did not appeal to the child as he had seen women mostly engaged in the tasks described by him.

A friend sent me a collection of such dialogues for my amusement, and, when I read them, I felt that, if we could become innocent like children and derive our meanings from innocent observations like theirs, we could spare ourselves much trouble, many disputes and much waste of time. And our intellect would become increasingly keener. A great deal of argumentation may

[1] The addressee's telegram received on November 23, 1929 read: "Reception Committee Indian National Social Conference unanimously elected you President of next session. Pray accept."

sharpen our wits but it does not sharpen our intellect. Who has not come across instances of too much argumentation leading to intellectual confusion?

This child is—in fact, all innocent children are—unconscious worshippers of truth and hence they go an advancing. We should, therefore, become children, that is to say, we should shed all fear and worship truth. We should do that which our heart believes to be true. We shall certainly err, but we should put up with the penalty and see to it that such error is not repeated. If we make another mistake, it does not matter; on every occasion we should suffer the penalty and go on rectifying our mistakes.

Whoever errs does not commit a fault. In the case of a fault knowledge is presumed. Knowingly committing a wrong is both a fault as well as sin. If we err unknowingly, that act will not be called sinful. Punishment may be meted out for both—error and sin—one meted out for the former is welcome, whereas that meted out for the latter is as bitter as poison. Both society and God shudder to punish anyone for the former, but are furious in punishing anyone for the latter.

It is not easy for a person advanced in age to become and continue to be, like a child, innocent and simple and, a conscious worshipper of truth. But it is our duty to do so.

The perfect incarnation of God as conceived by Hinduism is the child Krishna. Jesus said: "Wisdom flows from the mouths of babes and sucklings." He said to those who desired salvation: "Become like children."

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-11-1929

233. *MY NOTES*

Gujarat's Duty

The Viceroy's pronouncement has created such a sensation that the newspapers are full of discussion over it. Likewise, we also come across all sorts of speculation about it. I want that Gujarat should not indulge in any kind of conjectures, good or bad. Whether a conference is held or not, whether it be a round table conference or a square table one, let no one worry about it and let everyone do only his own work. Let no one get entangled in a wordy maze. If anyone gives a poisonous name to a rose, the latter

will neither lose its colour nor its fragrance, and a poisonous flower, if called a rose, cannot change its colour or its fragrance. Likewise, slavery will not cease to be so by being referred to as independence, and real independence will not become foreign domination by being called Dominion Status. Gujarat is regarded as having practical sense. A practical person is concerned with actual results and never with mere words. Let the administration under swaraj be given any name, but it must fulfil certain conditions. The principal among these is that India should be free to sever its connections with the British Empire whenever it wishes. Another condition, which is included in the first, is that the safety of the Britishers living in India at present must rest, not on their swords, cannons or their frightening forts, but on the fortress in the form of our goodwill and friendship. The third condition should be that the British officials and the so-called Indian officials, who have the same attitudes as the former, should cease to consider themselves as masters and start regarding themselves as true servants of the people of India. In my opinion, a scheme which would truly fulfil these three conditions implies true independence. At the moment, I do not see here the climate which would bring about such a situation. Hence there is no reason to hope for such a swaraj, but if it comes our way, it should not be turned down. True swaraj can also be established if the attitude of eminent Britishers undergoes a change and they are prepared to be just despite the fact that we have not become strong enough to deserve swaraj. We do not at all ask for any favour. That which has been granted as a favour has never till this day been anywhere recognized as independence. If, however, the sense of justice is awakened in Britishers, a part of our task will become straight and simple. At the root of a peaceful struggle lie the hope and the effort to bring about a change of heart in the adversary. It is my confirmed belief that if India adheres to the path of peace till the very end, the hearts of the most callous of British officers is bound to undergo a change. Hence, if an honourable settlement is possible, I am always ready to accept it. And by adopting this attitude, neither my leaders nor I have ever lost anything. I would, therefore, specially request Gujarat not to let its mind be even slightly affected by all that is being said at the moment but to utilize all its time in completing the programme drawn up by the Congress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-11-1929

234. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

ETAWAH,
November 24, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Though I did feel sorry when you left, I immediately controlled the feeling as your real duty required that you should go. I got your letter. God will certainly give you the strength to follow the path you have chosen for yourself. I have faith in Jayaprakash too. Tell him that he should write to me, that he should accompany you to Wardha and that even if he is unable to come for some reason, he should make it easy for you to go.

Take care of your health. Recite the *Gita* verses regularly with attention to their meaning. In reciting the chapter for the day . . .[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3352

235. *DECLARATION OF TRUST*[2]

November 26, 1929

1. We, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, age about years 60, Hindu, profession weaving and farming, residing at Satyagraha Ashram, Vadaj, Taluka Uttar Daskroi, District Ahmedabad, and Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt, age about years 31, Hindu, residing at Bhoivadani Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad, declare by this Deed:

That in the year 1919 with the object of serving the people we, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and some of our colleagues, together started a printing press named "Navajivan Mudranalaya" in the city of Ahmedabad and with its help began to print, circulate and conduct as an institution for the service of the public, two weeklies, the *Navajivan* and the *Young India*, both of which we had begun to conduct some time before after securing them

[1] The letter is incomplete.

[2] The trust-deed was presented to the Sub-Registrar of Ahmedabad on November 27, 1929 and registered in Book No. 1 at serial number 4904. The translation reproduced here is obtained from the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad; *vide* also p. 31.

by buying them from their previous owners and managers with their total rights of ownership and possession. The weekly *Hindi Navajivan* and a department for publishing books under the name "Navajivan Prakashan Mandir[1]" and other activities were carried on afterwards by us through the same institution. The said weeklies, printing press, and the department for publishing books have continued as a public institution for the education of the people under one comprehensive name of the "Navajivan Institution". When the said Navajivan Institution was started under the name of the Navajivan Mudranalaya, its property was worth about ten thousand, in figures 10,000 rupees. Together with the said printing press and the increase earned through the weeklies the property that belongs to the Institution today without any burden on it is worth about rupees one lakh.

2. The management of the said Navajivan Institution and the use and administration of its property was carried on by Swami Anand for the past several years and is now being carried on for the past two years by one of us Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt on its behalf in pursuance of the aims and objects of the Institution as mentioned in paras 3 and 4 of this Deed. Having declared these aims and objects, we declare by this Deed that the said printing press, weeklies, the publishing house, its rights of publication and goodwill and all other property belong to the said Navajivan Institution; that its management and administration was carried on on behalf of the Institution in the name of Swami Anand in the beginning and is now being carried on in the name of one of us Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt as Trustee of the Institution; that we, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt or guardians and heirs of both of us never did have or have any personal share, interest or right in it, and that we have not drawn for our personal profit or benefit or in any other manner any amount of money from it.

3. The aims and objects of the said Navajivan Institution which have been referred to in the previous para 2 are as under:

OBJECTS: To propagate peaceful means for the attainment of Hind Swaraj, i.e., swaraj for India, by educating the people through cultivated and enlightened workers devoted to the Gujarati language who desire to identify themselves with the life of Gujarat through the means of Gujarati and to serve India in this pure manner.

[1] The Gujarati has "Sanstha".

4. For the fulfilment of this object to conduct the *Navajivan*, through it to carry on propaganda for peaceful attainment of swaraj; and particularly

(a) to propagate the spinning-wheel and khadi;

(b) to propagate for the removal of untouchability;

(c) to propagate for unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans and the various communities who have settled in India;

(d) to present before the people constructive ways for protecting the cow by propagating for starting and managing tanneries, dairies and such other establishments;

(e) to propagate for ways for the advancement of women such as 1. Opposition to child-marriage, 2. Propagation of the idea of widow remarriage in a restrained manner, 3. Education for women;

(f) to break the unnatural glamour the English language has gained in the eyes of the people all over the country and to propagate for the establishment of Hindi or Hindustani in its place;

(g) to propagate by publication of journals and books such other ways as would conduce to the religious, social, economic and political advancement of the people;

(h) not to take advertisements in the newspapers conducted by the Institution and in pamphlets, books, etc., published by it; nor to accept in the printing press of the Institution such work for printing as is against the aims and objects of the Institution;

(i) to publish a statement of the activities of the Institution and of its accounts within three months after the end of the administrative year;

(j) always to insist on carrying on all the activities of the Institution on the basis of self-reliance.

5. We declare hereby that the following persons have been appointed Trustees to carry on the entire administration and management of the Institution in accordance with the said aims and objects:

NAMES OF TRUSTEES

SHRI VALLABHBHAI JHAVERBHAI PATEL
SHRI JAMNALAL BAJAJ
SHRI DATTATREYA BALKRISHNA KALELKAR
SHRI MAHADEV HARIBHAI DESAI
SHRI MOHANLAL MAGANLAL BHATT

6. We declare that the said Trustees have the following rights regarding all the property of the said Navajivan Institution:

(1) To perform all acts and to take all measures as seem necessary from time to time for the fulfilment of the aims and objects of the Trust; to administer and use the property of the Trust for that purpose as they deem proper; and to keep the property of the Trust in the names of two of the Trustees.

(2) To sell or mortgage the property of the said Trust for the fulfilment of the aims and objects of the Trust.

(3) To appoint as Trustee by a majority decision another person in the event of one of the Trustees resigning his place or in the event of his demise.

(4) For carrying on the business of the Trust the minimum number of Trustees is three.

(5) If deemed necessary to add two more Trustees to their present number by a majority decision.

7. The Trustees will continue the publication of the weekly *Hindi Navajivan* so long as they deem it proper for the fulfilment of the object as mentioned in sub-clause (f) of para 4 of the Deed. The Trustees have the right to run newspapers or publish and propagate books or pamphlets, etc., in other languages when they deem it inevitable for the fulfilment of the aims and objects of the Institution for a definite period but they shall consider such activity as secondary or subsidiary. The Trustees will carry on on the same basis the activity of conducting the weekly *Young India* and publication of books in English as at present carried on under the Navajivan Institution and such other activities till they deem it proper.

8. The Trustees have the right to add to or modify the objects of the Trust in such manner as is not opposed to the principles of truth and non-violence.

9. The Trustees have the right to manage and administer affairs of the Institution in such manner as is not in any way detrimental to the aims and objects of the Institution; to form a body of workers who pledge themselves to their work for life and will perform their work in the spirit of pure service and to give the charge of the internal management or the whole conduct of the affairs of the Institution to such a body of workers if they deem it proper; to lay down rules, bye-laws, etc., and to execute them for such a body of workers and for other purposes regarding management and administration,

10. The property of this Trust as mentioned in para 2 of the Deed is at present housed in the building in the Sarkhigarani Wadi in Sarangpur bearing municipal numbers of 5512 to 5521 which has been rented by the Navajivan Institution. Besides, the land described below is situated in the village Achar, Taluka and *Petatukadi*[1] Uttar Daskroi, District Ahmedabad.

The land is *jat sarkari*[2]:

Survey No.	A-G.[3]	East	West	North	South	Rate of Revenue
13	1-37	47	33-34-11	34	12	7-0-0
34	2-6 *Kh.*-2[4]	45-46-47	15-14	32-35	13	6-11-0
45	2-23 *Kh.*-12	39-41 *Kharabo*	34-36	37-35	44	9-0-0
47/5	2-22	48	*Lat Hisso*[5] 1-2-3-4-5	46	49	9-4-0

We have made this Deed of declaration of our own free will and with sober minds on this the 26th of November of the year A.D. 1929 and is binding on us as well as on our guardians and heirs, our lawyers, managers, administrators, etc.

Ahmedabad
Date: 26-11-'29

Signed
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
MOHANLAL MAGANLAL BHATT

Witnesses
Sd: SHANKERLAL BANKER
Sd: RATILAL P. MEHTA

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan (Supplement), 1-12-1929

[1] Sub-division of a taluk
[2] Tenure A lands
[3] Acre and *guntha*; a *guntha* is one-fortieth of an acre.
[4] *Kharabo*, wasteland
[5] Sub-plots

236. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SABARMATI,
November 26, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your three letters. My weight was found to be 100½ lb. Your last entry[1] shows 89[lb.]15 *tolas*. The increase is therefore 11½ lb. net. Not a bad bargain! Otherwise too all well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I did not know that there was an address already on the p.c. I hope this reaches you all right.[2]

From the original: C.W. 5381. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9437

237. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

November 26, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Make your body strong as steel. The programme of studies, etc., is certainly creditable. If the body requires anything which it is proper to have, we may feed it even while sitting in a public place. It is enough if we are able to exercise control over it. If you feel ashamed of eating thus in the presence of others, you may eat in private for some time. In doing so, you will not be guilty of hiding anything from others, for that is not your intention. You only wish to observe decorum. I expect to leave here on the 6th.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN
SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM
WARDHA (C.P.)

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9272

[1] The addressee maintained a register of Gandhiji's weight.

[2] The Bihar address was substituted for the Lahore address on the postcard.

238. THE U.P. TOUR-XI[1]

From Kalakankar taking Pratapgarh and other places on the way we reached Allahabad on 15th instant, to face a crowded programme and, as in Delhi, a meeting of the Working Committee and the Joint Conference to consider the situation in the light of the events subsequent to the Delhi manifesto. But the strain in Allahabad was less because the hand of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was visible in everything. When all is well arranged, times are kept and noises and rush avoided, the strain is but little felt.

The programme began with a visit to Dr. Sam Higginbottom's experimental farm and agricultural institute. Gandhiji wanted to visit it not for collecting funds for *Daridranarayana* but as a farmer to learn what he could of Dr. Higginbottom's experiment. It was a packed one and a half hours' programme. Gandhiji was hurried through the workshop, cattle-farm, sewage farm, soil reclamation area, etc. Cross cattle breeding is being tried at the farm. Sewage is buried in shallow pits and used with good results on the very spot where it is buried. The liquid manure in cattle shed is treated separately from the solid and is carried in a diluted form to a farm prepared for lucerne-growing and the like. Gandhiji could not help noticing the contrast between this economical and scientific treatment of sewage and the woeful neglect of the Municipal Board which allowed thousands of rupees worth of sewage to be annually wasted and the sacred waters of the Ganges and the Jamna to be polluted at the very spot where they meet and to view which tens of thousands of devotees travel long distances from all parts of India. We had a peep at the little children whom Mrs. Higginbottom is bringing up with a mother's care. Most of these are children born of lepers. This part of the visit finished with a five minutes' function at which the students presented a purse containing earnings from their own labour specially dedicated to *Daridranarayana* and a huge basket full of the delicacies that mother earth had yielded at this farm. From this function Dr. and Mrs. Higginbottom took the party to the leper asylum nearby conducted by them. They seemed to take special pride in this work of theirs and Gandhiji could not help

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 40.

envying Mrs. Higginbottom the spontaneous love that the little children bestowed upon their adoptive mother who with pardonable pride introduced the 'troupe' to Gandhiji as "my children"! The chaulmoogra oil injections are regularly given to the lepers with, it is said, 80 per cent success complete or partial in recent cases and less success in advanced cases. But it is claimed that the ravaging progress of the fell disease is arrested even in advanced cases.

From the farm the party visited the Ewing College and School students and received a good purse and address. Thence we went to Crosthwaite Girls' School where the proceedings were protracted though interesting. The girls sang Mirabai's *bhajans* and some of the little girls danced with admirable rhythm as they sang the famous *bhajan* of Mirabai:

"मैं तो हरिगुण गावत नाचूँगी"

(I shall dance as I sing the praises of the Lord) This gave Gandhiji the cue for his address. He asked the girls to sing these sacred hymns with understanding and from their hearts. From the girls' function the party went to Kayasth Pathashala to receive their purse and address. The afternoon was devoted to visiting villages in the district. This was Saturday 16th.

The morning of the 17th opened with a meeting of the University students and professors.[1] It was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor Sjt. Ganganath Jha. The largest purse yet presented by students and professors was presented here. It was over Rs. 3,000 and the address was taken up by the Students' Union at Rs. 357. The tour has been remarkable for the fact, among others, that the students' purses have been rising almost invariably at every stage. Allahabad beat all previous records and came miles ahead of the others.

From the students the party migrated to the Municipal Offices for Gandhiji to receive addressees from the Municipal and District Boards.[2] Gandhiji drew the attention of the members of the Municipal Board to the question of sewage disposal, and suggested that it was criminal to pollute with the city sewage the sacred rivers at their very confluence. He said that it was the duty of the Board to adopt a wise and scientific system of disposing of the sewage and thereby to replenish their empty treasure chest. The Municipal Board is running a leather manufacture

[1] *Vide* pp. 177-8.
[2] *Vide* pp. 178-9.

school. Congratulating the Board on having such a school, Gandhiji told the Board that it should begin with indigenous tanning of dead cattle hide of which there must be a considerable quantity available out of the cattle dying in Allahabad. It was possible, he added, to increase the wealth of the country if tanning instead of remaining in the hands of a despised neglected class received a proper treatment.

The afternoon opened with a monster meeting of ladies where little Indira, now rendered famous by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letters to her, presented a purse containing a cheque for over Rs. 8,000. This cheque represented by far the largest purse presented during the tour by the women.

This was followed by the public meeting where the balance of the collections amounting to Rs. 10,000 was presented. The total for the Allahabad district amounted to nearly Rs. 35,000. This was wholly unexpected. Gandhiji, the most optimistic of the party, never expected it to go beyond Rs. 25,000. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the most diffident. But Shrimati Kamala Nehru, who though only recently discharged from the hospital after a difficult operation had taken up the onerous duty of Secretary of the Reception Committee and had given herself and her co-workers no rest, made the great response possible. Pandit Motilalji had headed the list with Rs. 2,500. From Allahabad the party visited Mirzapur and Chunar. The latter is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is a place of historic importance. But it was visited solely for the fact that it was the place chosen by Dr. Bhagvandas for leading *vanaprastha*[1] life. There, in perfect quiet and beautiful surroundings, he is living not far from his beloved Kashi, the seat of his life-long activities, and yet protected from all noise and bustle of a great city.

From Chunar we retraced our steps to Allahabad *en route* for Bundelkhand the last of the great group of provinces known as the United Provinces.

Taking Fatehpur on the way we passed into Bundelkhand, impoverished through a pitiless visitation of famines. At Kulapahar there is a khadi ashram. Bundelkhand needs more than one khadi centre and many workers. It can give relief to thousands of semi-starved families and enable them to tide over years of scarcity and add to their scanty income even during good years. Years of plenty the Indian peasant has not known

[1] The third of the four ashramas of life during which one prepares for complete renunciation

for generations. There are in Bundelkhand thousands of families belonging to the Kori class. They are hereditary weavers who do also their own spinning. A family of four having one loom earns no more than from 11 to 12 rupees per month and therefore ekes out a bare living only on an indigenous grain corresponding to *ragi* or *bajri*[1]. They have no milk nor ghee! It was a sad sight to meet them. There is no reason whatsoever why, like the Raniparaj[2] of Bardoli, these men and women should not be transformed in a few years and the winter of their despair turned into the summer of hope through the life-giving wheel.

From Kulapahar we passed to Jhansi and thence to Orai, Ooraiya, and lastly Etawah where Swami Swarajswarup, a *snatak* of Prem Mahavidyalaya, who has dedicated himself to the country's service, is trying to do village reconstruction work.

The U.P. tour commenced at Agra on 11th September and ended at Etawah on 24th November, i.e., after exactly two months and a fortnight. If one adds the previous three weeks of Almora[3] the tour took three months and one week. Friends will be glad to learn that though the tour was undoubtedly exacting Gandhiji has kept excellent health.

Young India, 28-11-1929

239. *NOTES*

Congress Committees Beware

The Secretary, F.C.B. Committee, has circulated the following to the Press:[4]

It is up to the Congress Committees to send the reports required by the F.C.B. Committee. Had they done their duty as Champaran has, the story of boycott of foreign cloth would have been differently written.

Lalaji Memorial

The U.P. tour gave about Rs. 30,000 to the Lalaji Memorial. This would not have been possible without Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon's efforts. But I do not regard this as at all an adequate

[1] A variety of millet

[2] A scheduled tribe of South Gujarat

[3] From June 13 to July 2, 1929

[4] The circular, not reproduced here, requested Congress Committees to send reports of the year's foreign-cloth boycott work.

contribution. The U.P. is well able to give more towards this national memorial. I hope that the collections will continue. Let each province insist on doing its utmost and we shall soon finish, as we ought to, the full five lakhs.

Young India, 28-11-1929

240. SOME THOUGHTS ON U.P. TOUR

The long awaited U.P. tour was by the grace of God finished on 24th instant. Friends had feared a breakdown in my health but the wall of protection that Acharya Kripalani and the other companions had erected round me ensured for me as much comfort and rest as was necessary and possible in the circumstances. The brunt of this protection however fell upon the broad shoulders of Acharya Kripalani who was sometimes really angry and more often feigned anger when leaders of places visited wanted more time and more appointments or when people insisted on seeing me or crowding into my car. The result was that he came in some places to be regarded as a fiend without feeling, and without consideration for others. He quietly pocketed all these epithets and went about his way. But as we parted at Agra, his message to me was, "I have neither the heart nor the aptitude for offering apologies. I do my duty as I know how and there my task ends. You should offer all the necessary apologies for me." Acharya Kripalani when I first met him in 1915 was already a seasoned warrior. He was then earning Rs. 400 per month but was a *brahmachari* taking only Rs. 40 for himself and sending the balance to Dr. Choithram who was conducting a *brahmacharya* ashram at Hyderabad. He became my most efficient door-keeper in Champaran[1] when I was besieged by crowds of eager and pressing ryots.

In utter disregard of consequences he threw himself in the thick of the non-co-operation fight and from professor became a khadi hawker and organizer. When the call came from Sardar Vallabhbhai, he responded and gave a new lease of life to the Vidyapith. And now surrounded by a band of faithful workers he is conducting khadi ashrams in the U.P. with a zeal which any young man may well envy. For the sake of his country he has exiled himself from Sind and is equally at home with Biharis as with U.P. men. At the pressing instance of the A.I.S.A. he

[1] In 1917

has become its co-agent with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the U.P. And it was in this capacity that he supervised the tour. I am sure that those who came under his lash will forgive him his quick temper. I wish we had more workers of the Kripalani type. Their quick temper would be forgotten in the quick and sure invigorating change that their solid work will bring about in our enervating surroundings.

Even the hopes that Acharya Kripalani had to disappoint, I know, sprang from affection of which I had as much abundance in U.P. as in Andhra and elsewhere. Indeed the attention received by me and my companions was often embarrassing. Where one volunteer was wanted, ten were ready. The hospitality was imprudently lavish. And I regret to have to confess that we were not always insistent on refusing such as was unnecessary. My own experience is that a gentle but firm refusal to accept what is not strictly needed for creature comforts is never mistaken for rudeness.

My advice to workers is:

1. Do not waste volunteers. It is no sign of hospitality, it is sign of want of organizing ability.

2. Take national workers at their word. If, for instance, they say they do not need sweets, believe them and do not provide sweets to them. Know that every rupee spent on unnecessary things is so much taken away from the mouths of the semi-starved millions.

3. Keep your appointments rigidly to the minute.

4. Having made promises fulfil them at the cost of your life. Let your word even in small matters be as good as your bond.

There was too much dilatoriness and loose talk among organizers. The result was loss of time, disappointments and vexation of spirit.

I must postpone a consideration of the provincial service and one or two other matters to the next issue.[1]

Young India, 28-11-1929

241. PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY

Sjt. Coomarappa, M.A., B.Sc., is a Fellow of the Society of Incorporated Accountants. He has travelled abroad to gain practical experience and is now for the time being at any rate, if not permanently, in the Gujarat Vidyapith. He has written several informing chapters on public finance and our poverty. These being seasonable I propose to publish in instalments in these pages.[1] The reader will learn as he proceeds that according to Sjt. Coomarappa India spends 93.7% on debts, military and administrative expenses as against 48.8% spent by America. The money thus spent by India largely goes out of it; what is spent by America remains in it. Thus the richest country in the world spends about half of what India the poorest country in the world spends on administration. So long as this crushing burden is not removed there is no swaraj whether one knows it by the name Dominion Status or Independence. The reader should carefully study these chapters which contain facts rather than arguments.

Young India, 28-11-1929

242. TEMPLES FOR 'UNTOUCHABLES'

Swami Anand who has been leading a valiant fight for the so-called untouchables writes:[2]

In the beginning of the movement as I had conceived it on my return from South Africa in 1915, I had thought that it was wholly inconsistent with the movement for removing untouchaability to build separate temples or schools for them. But experience taught me that the movement could not proceed upon strict logic and that we Hindus had so much suppressed a third of ourselves that even after the articulate Hindus had with one voice declared for removal the suppressed brethren would for a

[1] These are not reproduced here; *vide* also footnote 1, p. 162.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent, referring to an article by Gandhiji in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, had said that his "plea for building special temples for untouchables is likely to be misconstrued". For Gandhiji's article in the *Gazette*, *vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 548-50.

long time need the helping hand in a variety of ways. After the theoretical lip-removal of untouchability, if no special effort was made, the vast bulk of them would not readily take advantage of the removal and the ignorant mass would not tolerate them especially when the latter would be naturally clumsy in their deportment or pardonably forward in the enjoyment of long withheld freedom. I am therefore convinced that the two things will have to go hand in hand — perfect freedom to enter ordinary temples and ordinary schools and to use common wells at the same time as erection of model schools and model temples specially designed for the convenience of 'untouchables' but open to the others subject always to priority for 'untouchables'. It was along this line of reasoning that I suggested in the brief note for the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* that the municipalities could foster removal of untouchability by erecting temples and model schools for the suppressed classes side by side with the attempt to have the existing temples thrown open to these countrymen of ours.

My note may therefore on no account be taken as an excuse for condoning prohibition against entry into temples, etc. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the manifesto of the Bombay leaders who have advised the removal of the prohibition against temple-entry throughout the Bombay Presidency. I have therefore just read with great joy the news that Ramchandra temple in Bombay has been thrown open to the suppressed classes by Sjt. Thakordas Nanabhai, a trustee of the temple. I hope that there will be no relaxation in the effort initiated in Bombay.

Young India, 28-11-1929

243. PRINCELY STATES

A gentleman, writing about the many immoral rulers in Central India, asks me why, knowing the facts, I am silent about them. Several of the rulers are aged. Many have several wives but not content with them they keep many women as half-wives or concubines. Do I expect anything even from such rulers?

I expect every human being to be virtuous, because I expect the same thing of myself. In this world no one is perfect. By trying hard all can become virtuous. Some rulers are immoral, but that is because the subjects are also wanting in morals. Therefore, let us not be annoyed with the rulers. Rather, when we think of the princely system let us not confuse the issue by mixing up in our deliberations the faults of individual rulers.

This, then, is a theoretical appraisal of the aforesaid subject. But from this let no one think that according to my belief nothing should be done regarding the princely order or regarding matters like the immorality of the rulers. Whatever efforts are made to wipe out social evils in India must have some impact on the rulers as well. We have no means of measuring this impact. The truth of the matter is that our efforts at social reforms are very feeble. So the pace of social betterment is also very slight. There can be a special way of dealing with immoral rulers and that is the non-co-operation of his subjects with his rule. It is sad that this kind of awakening or strength is almost absent among the public. Not only this; the officials of the ruler, guided by self-interest, give full support to the ruler in his misdeeds.

Lastly, we consider the Indian princely rule. As the Emperor so his vassals. Our Imperial Government is Satanic. Therefore, from 1920 onwards the mighty weapon of non-co-operation is being wielded. When the Imperial Government is replaced by a national government, the rulers also will become virtuous automatically. This is the universal law — an ancient tradition. An agitation against the Indian rulers today only makes the Imperial Government stronger, because the agitation may also amount to inviting the Imperial Government to suppress the Indian States.

I hope, after reading this explanation, it would not be difficult to understand my silence about the Indian States. This silence of mine is part and parcel of non-co-operation.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 28-11-1929

244. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

November 30, 1929

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Messrs Jinnah, Vithalbhai and Vallabhbhai were with me this afternoon. The upshot of the conversation was that if there was an interview with the Viceroy, we would be free to discuss all the terms of the manifesto and that if the Viceroy was sure of our responding to his invitation he would invite us at the instance of Vithalbhai or Jinnah. The Viceroy will be free to see us on 23rd December. The proposal is that if the invitation is received we should meet in Delhi on 22nd December. The party is to be composed of you, Dr. Sapru, Jinnah, Vithalbhai and me. I

feel that if the invitation is issued we should respond. If you agree please wire your yes to Vithalbhai at Delhi and to me at Sabarmati up to 5th. I leave for Wardha on 6th.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Motilal Nehru Papers, File No. G-1. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

245. *THE WITCH'S LAST BREATH*

Sjt. Ramnarayan who is a worker in the cause of the *Antyajas* writes from Mombasa:[1]

The residents of East Africa deserve congratulations on contributing their share to the fund for the service of the *Antyajas*. People can ask only those persons to contribute who have the means to do so. Hence it is not surprising that those who collect funds go so far as East Africa and such other places. The glory of the philanthropist lies in giving alms only after examining with discrimination the merits or otherwise of each recipient. It is the dharma of the wealthy not to contribute a single pie where the beggar begs merely in order to satisfy his hunger or the wicked does so in order to further his evil deeds. Both good and wicked people are bound to approach them. Their sense of discrimination is to be measured by their capacity to put these persons to the test.

On the basis of the help that he received in East Africa, Sjt. Ramnarayan has concluded that the witch of untouchability is drawing her last breath. To draw such a conclusion merely from the funds received by him is to go too far. However, many symptoms bear witness to the fact that the witch is indeed drawing her last breath. The fact that due to the efforts of Sjt. Jamnalalji, eight famous temples in Jabalpur simultaneously opened their gates to the *Antyaja* brothers and sisters and that respectable gentlemen took part in it, and that in Bombay Sheth Thakoredas Nanabhai opened the gates of the Ramchandra temple to them suggests an epoch-making reform. Some who regard themselves as orthodox Hindus are trying to carry on an agitation against these efforts. However, if the reformers are not indiscreet and if they do not give up their patience and at the same time

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had given an account of the work he was doing in East Africa.

do not abandon their task, if they do not exceed their limits, the opposition of their opponents is bound to die down.

It is easy to understand the impatience of the *Antyaja* brethren. It is but natural to feel impatient when there are no two opinions about the propriety of one's rights, and where there is a consciousness of the injustice that is being done to one. Nevertheless, where Hindus other than *Antyajas* are making constant efforts on behalf of reformers, if the *Antyajas* have forbearance, it is most likely that the desired result will be achieved sooner. It is understandable that the *Antyajas* would have to take some steps in the matter if no Hindus other than their own community lent support to their cause or that support produced no results. However, there is complete justification for patience in a situation where ceaseless efforts are being made by reformers and where we can actually see the good results achieved in Jabalpur, Bombay and other places.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-12-1929

246. *THE NAVAJIVAN TRUST*

The reader will recall that in the year 1919, at a time when a fierce struggle was being conducted against the Rowlatt Act, I accepted the editorship of *Young India* and *Navajivan* in deference to the wishes of Sjt. Shankerlal Banker, Sjt. Umar Sobani, Sjt. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Sjt. Indulal Yajnik. A printing press was set up because everyone clearly felt that the periodicals could only be published in their own press. It was immediately felt that a man of determination and courage was required to run it. We supplied the requirement in bits from the Satyagraha Ashram. However, if it was to prove its worth and become self-supporting, it was necessary to get a worker who would be single-minded in his devotion to it and think only of its welfare day and night. It was not possible to spare such a person from the Ashram who would lend lustre to this post. I thought of Swami Anand and like a soldier he honoured my wishes. As a result, the press became self-sufficient and Navajivan as an institution handed over Rs. 50,000 to Sardar Vallabhbhai for public service. This cannot be regarded as a profit but rather a result of the sacrifice made by those serving on the staff of *Navajivan*. Neither Swami Anand nor any of the other principal office-bearers has accepted a salary. The entire institution has been run to date for the love

of public service. Its affairs have been managed on my behalf by Swami and later by Sjt. Mohanlal who was trained by him and was his right-hand man. Everyone had concluded long ago that although this situation was unexceptionable, it could not be regarded as permanent. I had thought out the names of its trustees or guardians. However, due to some extent to laziness and to a larger extent to various other preoccupations, some time elapsed before this deed was legalized and duly registered. Owing to the grace of God and that of a lawyer friend who charged no fees, Sjt. Mohanlal and I became on the 27th relieved of the burden, having affixed our signatures.[1] What was there in the heart was transferred to the public registers. Readers will see that document along with this issue. This institution has always belonged to the reader, those who want to regard it as theirs even more may do so and cherish it as much as they wish. The junior staff of *Navajivan* may be regarding themselves as salaried employees today. It is my hope as well as that of my colleagues that tomorrow they will become its true owners. With this intention, we have bought a small plot of open land near the Sabarmati station. It is our hope that the workers will live there in fresh air, set up an ideal township, be happy, water the plant of service, enjoy its shade and pass it on in their turn to the country. The aims of the institution are all-embracing. In order to ensure their success, the organizers, the workers and the readers must give their full co-operation. That co-operation has been there till today more or less. I have not found it cumbersome to run this journal. I have derived immeasurable delight from the kindness of its readers and the unique loyalty of my colleagues. And from it, I have had a glimpse of swaraj and have nurtured hopes of knowing the *atman*. However, just as one who is given the support of the finger hopes for the support of the wrist, I hope for more effective co-operation from the reader. If this bears fruit, swaraj is within our grasp.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-12-1929

[1] *Vide* pp. 210-4.

247. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 2, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Since you are not in the Ashram, I do not take the trouble of writing to you every day. But I see from your last letter that you have carried with you the burden of the Ashram. You should lay it aside. You have gone out on Ashram work, leaving your charge to someone else. Why, then, should you carry any burden? Let things happen as they will. We have the example of Janaka constantly before us. Gibbon's history, though beautifully written, is not true history, for it is written with external materials. It is based on imperfect events of the hour. The *Mahabharata*, on the other hand, is based on the timeless and imperishable inner experience, and therefore it alone is true history. We should not, therefore, regard Janaka's example as an ancient one, but treat it as belonging to the present time. Have faith that Krishna, Arjuna and Yudhishthira are talking about the same things and acting in the same manner today, though not under the same names. Is it not through faith that we believe in Gibbon's historical narrative, too? We have, in fact, more reliable evidence to put our faith in the stories of the *Mahabharata* than we have in Gibbon's history. If we understand this simple and plain truth, many of our problems will be solved in no time. Let us, therefore, not regard Janaka's example as a mere brinjal in a book, but believe it to be as fresh brinjal, to be plucked and eaten, as the ones growing in our field.

You will now understand that the resolutions which I have permitted to be passed, or say inspired, in your absence should not make you unhappy. You wanted a clarification of certain matters, which I procured by patiently discussing them with others and persuading others to discuss them among themselves. Nothing more than this can be done, and nothing less could have been. The thing boils over again and again, but that can be controlled by gently blowing over the boiling liquid or adding a little water. We need not, however, remove the milk off the stove. If we are vigilant, it is not likely to get burnt or to boil and spill over. If it does despite our vigilance, the responsibility is not ours. The *Gita* is our authority for this.

You feel that some of the things are good there and bad here: this is both true and not true, more "not" than otherwise. It is but right, however, that we should magnify our defects. It is only by constantly doing that that we get the proper perspective. I, therefore, believe that you are in the right. This is my reply to your previous letters, as far as I remember their contents.

Now I shall reply to your last letter. If you keep bad health there, I cannot permit you to stay on. Your health has suffered because you have given way to false civility or shame. You ought not to eat imperfectly cooked food. If you cannot get food there according to your requirement, you should, without taking or giving offence, go outside and get what you want. This is real friendship. You cannot eat the dal prepared there; but you can easily live on milk and *roti*, with such vegetables as can be eaten raw, like tomatoes.

I want to be lodged in a tent. That is what I have told Tandonji. It will suffice if the facilities similar to those provided by Vallabhbhai in Ahmedabad are provided at Lahore. And I see from your accounts that they will be. Dr. Gopichand should remember that I shall be accompanied by quite a number of invalids. There should be sufficient space to accommodate them all. In other words, those who undertake to provide me the facilities I need should put up an ashram on a small scale. They should also put up a fencing to imprison me so that I may be protected against crowds wanting *darshan* of me. If this is done, I may not have to give nor they need take more trouble.

Everywhere we come across individual votaries of khadi such as you find there; this is a very hopeful sign. I will certainly remember about the Maganlal memorial. I doubt whether we can look after it in the Ashram. The rule that we can employ only an associate[1] comes in the way of such additions. Nor do I see anything wrong in this. If, however, you are confident enough, though knowing that we shall not get an associate, let me know. We cannot get, or use, the building meant for the doctor. I do not think, moreover, that the ground floor is sufficient for the purpose. We have, thus, no choice but to put up a new building for the memorial. I do not think it would be improper to locate it in the Vidyapith or in Jamnalal's farm at Wardha. But I cannot come to a firm decision to that effect just now.

We need give no thought to the objections which Ratilal might raise about water, etc. He is the proprietor. But we are

[1] Gandhiji uses the English word.

the trustees and, therefore, it is for us to decide independently to what extent and how to use that water. I have explained this to Ramniklal.

You are quite right in reminding me about Sind relief. The matter is not out of my mind. But we shall not have done our dharma by spending the money in a hurry. I have not advised that the money collected for the Malabar Relief Fund should be used for khadi work, but I have taken the freedom to use that money for relief work outside Malabar. The relief was carried out through khadi work, for we have accepted khadi as a means for such relief. In Malabar, much relief work was done through khadi. My conscience is clear in this matter. We have already come to a decision about Sind. It is that we should send the money when Jairamdas or Malkani asks for it. Both of them are planning to organize relief to the distressed through khadi. Malkani has plenty of money with him just now. More than half of what he had has been wasted, and he has been looking on helplessly. I forgot to mention one thing about Malabar. An alternative name for Malabar Relief [Fund] was Southern Relief [Fund]. I had, however, inserted a notice to clarify the matter in order that there might be no misconception among people. The money has been spent for relief in the South. I have not been able to decide about the Assam money. I need Satis Babu's opinion before I can do that. I have been in correspondence with him for one month.

There are two candidates for the honour; one, Dhiraj of Sylhet, and the other, Suresh of Comilla. The only thing to be considered is which of them, or whether both, should get the honour.

Let the account of overseas help stand. I explained this matter to Ramniklal long ago. I am not in a position just now to get the money from Jehangirji. However, if I do not succeed in getting it during my lifetime and if you have not written off the sum and forgotten about the account, you may be able to get the money from him even after my death. Even today, if I spend some time going after the thing, take up the issue seriously and see a lot of people, I may succeed in getting it. But I have no wish to do that at all, nor is it necessary that I should. I am convinced that this account has a claim over the money lying with Jehangirji and that is enough for me. We may get something from Birla next year, we do not know how much. If he and his firm are safe, we are bound to get something. We should continue to give to the Labour Union what it has been receiving

from this fund, as long as Anasuyabehn wishes. She is trying to make some other arrangement.

I may have to examine what look like bad debts. They should, however, be shown separately in our balance-sheet, so that no misleading impression is produced. For I remember right now one or two debts which appear to be bad and which are not likely to become good in future. For instance, Sitla Sahai's and Rupani's.

I am trying to take in Nanubhai. He came and saw me yesterday. He feels shy to live in the Ashram, and will not feel comfortable at Vijapur. He has requested to be posted elsewhere. I do not think that will be possible. I believe, however, that it will be possible to attract him to the Ashram. He asked for more time to think over the matter and went to Vijapur yesterday.

Manji's problem will give no trouble. The mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law may certainly stay as long as Gangabehn has no objection. I have dictated so far by 4.15. To do that, I got up at 2.45. I have done this not to oblige you, but to guide one through whom I have to get work done. This gives satisfaction to my soul.

When I talked to Gangabehn about Krishnamaiyadevi, she told me, "Things are going on well just now, and she has been doing good work." Mauni, too, seems to be working. So long as there is no complaint against her, nothing need be done at present.

I have had no talk with Bhansali. After he saw me in connection with Nanibehn, he has not come again, and I have not been able to go myself. But, I will have a talk with him. I do not like his children going to the Vidyapith. But I reconcile myself to the position with the thought that he lives in a certain manner as a guest. The inmates of the Mandir cannot follow his example and send their children to the Vidyapith. We should tolerate Nayan's and Rupi's going there, since they are being trained not for village-life but for city-life.

I have had a talk with Dinkarrao. I had also called a meeting of the Goshala Committee to consider the matter. I have now to draft rules for a case like his. It is enough if he agrees to observe *brahmacharya* as long as he lives in the Mandir. We or I shall lose nothing by this arrangement. We cannot say that, if a man observes *brahmacharya* for the sake of his moral well-being or service, what he does is improper or is a waste of effort. It should be enough if he does not cheat us. I am sure in my mind that most of the inmates of the Mandir are honestly doing their best. It is possible that there are some who are deceiving us. That

does not diminish the value of our rules, nor prove them unnecessary. We can, however, draw this conclusion from the presence of such persons, namely, that while the world exists, there will also be people in it who deceive others. What we have to consider is whether there are any persons who have found peace under the cool shade of these rules. The reply to this is so clear that no one can have any doubt about it. Maganlal and others came through all difficulties under the protection of the rules. Prabhudas and the other boys and Radha and the other girls are holding on because of the strength they derive from the rules. Dinkarrao does not seem to me to be a person who is likely to deceive us. However, who can ever give a guarantee about anyone? "Man commits sin against his will"[1] is a statement for ever true. I believe that Dinkarrao will keep his word. Parnerkar and the others believe it. At present we should run the dairy subject to the same rules as for the Mandir. It has not reached the stage when it can function as an independent institution. This is the independent view of those people, including Dinkarrao.

I have told them to permit old families which wish to opt out of the common kitchen to do so. Ramabehn[2] made a start yesterday. I immediately agreed. I complimented her in my mind for her frankness. You need not feel hurt by this, but should be pleased. I have not had a frank discussion with her. Perhaps she would not desire that.

I cannot bring myself to accept a separate kitchen for the girls. We shall know by and by what happens about this.

At present, by "the rules about the girls' section in the Ashram" we mean Gangabehn. She may bear those other rules in her mind and manage the affairs.

Let us hope that in future we shall be able to do all these things which we cannot do now. If we fail and see our error, we shall correct it.

I look upon Shivabhai as a person with a sense of responsibility. If he falls, he will be going out of the way. Wherever people are required to obey rules, impostors have some scope. What shall we do about that? Darkness always follows the sun. Nothing remains now from your letters to be replied to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4211

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 36
[2] Addressee's wife

248. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

5.30 a.m., Silence Day, December 2, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I am writing this after having taken the weekly silence. I have all your letters and wire. I have also your notes for *Young India*. One will appear [in] the coming issue.[1] It was crowded out this time.

That you are now keeping normal health gives me relief. I hope there will be no setback now.

Mathuradas has introduced a new method of carding. I am trying to learn it.

Dr. and Mrs. Sherwood Eddy and Mr. and Mrs. Kirkley Page are coming tomorrow. I wish you could have met them. I expect to find them extra-good.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You are likely to meet Mahadev before this reaches you. Then he will give you all the news.

I have read your two notes—railway travelling[2] and violence[3]. You have begun the second on the same sheet where the first ends. This is inconvenience for me and the compositor. A separate note should be commenced on a separate sheet. Tom-tom is a drum, a gharry is called and spelt tum-tum. The two notes will go in. In one place I have corrected what appeared to me loose thought, in another an irrelevant mention of events. You will perhaps detect both the corrections. There are a few minor ones. Though the notes are going, they are not for *you* up to the mark. There is ample room for improvement. Perhaps when you see yourself in cold print, you will realize it yourself. Therefore do not attempt to be regular. Concentrate on what you want to write and rewrite it ten times if you like, till at least you can say to yourself you can make no further improvement. For the time being you must write not to relieve my immediate pres-

[1] *Vide* "Our Brethren the Trees", 5-12-1929.

[2] *Vide* "The Third-Class Carriage", 12-12-1929.

[3] Published under the title "The Futility of Violence" in *Young India*, 19-12-1929

sure, but to replace me in future. The pressure is already removed. Valji has given me matter of which I am able to take for the current week only one-sixth. Coomarappa's and Mahadev's contributions you have seen.

BAPU

[PPS.]

You are quite correct in having decided for yourself about Monghyr.

From the original: C.W. 5382. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9438

249. *NOTE TO REGINALD REYNOLDS*

Silence Day [December 2, 1929][1]

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I saw your nose bleeding. You need not feel distressed about it. Take rest for a while and sip cold water through the nose and bring it out through the throat and splash cold water over the head and at the back of it.

M.K.G.

From a photostat: C.W. 4537. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

250. *LETTER TO M. J.*

UDYOGA MANDIR, SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 2, 1929

BHAI M. J.,

If you use all your money for public good, then you have no longer a duty to give something to the sister. The lapse you committed cannot be undone. The sister has no debts to pay. The debt of which you write is an idea of the mind, and it is not possible to discharge it with money. It can be discharged partly through service to womankind.

Now about you: If you have money, why do you at all draw any money from here? A *jijnasu*[2] or *mumukshu*[3] would never do

[1] Inferred from the addressee's article, "Letters from Bapu", in *Incidents of Gandhiji's Life*, p. 279, wherein he writes this and another note, *vide* "Note to the Reginald Reynolds", 3-12-1929 were "evidently written between Gandhiji's return to the Ashram at the end of November 1929 and his departure to Wardha." Gandhiji reached the Ashram on November 26 and left for Wardha on December 6.

[2] Seeker of knowledge

[3] Aspirant of *moksha*, i.e., salvation

so without good reason. This, however, is only a general observation. If Bhai Chhaganlal Joshi has committed himself to you in any way, the commitment is binding on the Udyoga Mandir and on me, so that either Joshi himself may decide whether the money which you are asking for should be given to you, or I may give an opinion in the matter after hearing him. If Bhai Ramniklal or Shivabhai knows the facts the matter can be settled immediately. Even though it may be possible thus to give you the money, the moral question remains unsolved for you.

Regarding your going on leave. This matter is entirely within Bhai Ramniklal's jurisdiction. If he lets you go, you may by all means go. It is certainly necessary for you to go.

I do think it wrong that you should have been given the accounts work. I do not know why it became necessary to give you that work. Generally speaking, my opinion is that, till newcomers have properly mastered the processes leading to and including spinning, no advantage should be taken of their knowledge of book-keeping, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15839

251. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

December 2, 1929

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your telegrams and your letter. I have assumed that you will take what has happened as my reply to them. So thick is the jungle of work around me that I feel suffocated. Had it not been so, I would have replied to you in detail. Just now I can only tell you that I keep in mind what friends like you write to me from time to time. I assure you, however, that I shall be guided entirely by what the *atman* within tells me. Who knows if, because of my evil deeds, that inner *atman* gets frozen and quite another power begins working in its place? How can one know when the inner voice is speaking and when one or more or all of the six inner enemies are speaking? It is only after death, isn't it, that one can know it? My health is quite good. It seems you are on the whole keeping the promise to visit the Ashram once a month.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5911

252. *NOTE TO REGINALD REYNOLDS*

Silence Day [December 3, 1929][1]

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I am somewhat troubled about the guests who are coming today. I am most anxious that they should have the necessary creature comforts supplied to them so long as it is within our power to do so. Will you please act as co-host with Sitla Sahai and see that they do not feel strangers in a strange place?

M.K.G.

From a photostat: C.W. 4538. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

253. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM*

December 4, 1929

It might be argued how do an Ashram and the performing of a marriage go together.[2] My reply is that the two are not contradictory of each other. Those who can exercise control over the self should do so; those who cannot, may marry. This is proper. None need think that those who practise self-control are pure and those who marry are all impure. It is possible that a married person may be virtuous and a bachelor a hypocrite. This is why we consider marriage desirable, although a nuisance.

In this marriage we have gone one step further. In Manilal's marriage we broke the caste barrier; in this we blast the provincial prejudices. From Gujarat we have come to Mewar. This is a good sign. This has added to our responsibility. Whichever marriage is performed here, we keep the duty aspect before us and we do it in a religious way. We adopt for ourselves a code of conduct. Considering the present conditions in these troubled times, if we can master the passion it will indeed be good. But we ought not to resort to compulsion. If, therefore, a boy or a girl so desires, a partner should be found, and they should be blessed into wedlock. This is the duty of the Ashram. So far,

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 234 and "Letter to Mirabehn", pp. 233-4.

[2] Shankarlal Agrawal and Umiya were married in the Ashram on this day.

we have been acting on this premise and the result has not been bad. We perform the wedding without pageantry, in a short time, and with pure minds. This is a matter of joy.

This marriage was precluded by uneasiness and anxiety which have now vanished. All possible precautions were taken. The bride and the bridegroom were both consulted. I have given importance to national interests over personal. Through this marriage one province has been drawn nearer to another. This is the first experiment.[1]

You have hundred times more responsibility upon your shoulders than has Umiya. Umiya's courage has pleased me. Keep abreast of her desires and needs. In Hindu society, women have suffered in status. They are regarded as dependent. Give her freedom. You are a scout. It is the duty of a scout to give protection to others. She should not feel unhappy, but should feel that everybody holds her dear. I could not teach her enough Hindi. So put up with this. If all of us realize our duties, the difference between a Marwari and a Gujarati cannot last. Keep duty and tradition before your eyes. I advise both of you to lead a life of restraint and never forget the interests of the country.

Umiya, what should I say to you? I have not time enough to talk to you separately. You have shown courage and shed lustre on the name of the Ashram, the province and the family. Do nothing wrong. I have put small garlands around your and Shankarlal's necks. In my estimation they are big. Do not fail to read the *Gita* every day. When disappointment stares into your face, select a hymn from the *Bhajanavali* and recite it. When you have some leisure, spin on a *takli* and live peacefully. May God make you true servants and grant you a long life. Live in such a way so that I may not have cause for regret.

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?, pp. 25-6.

[1] The following paragraph was addressed to Shankarlal Agrawal.

would take no more than a reasonable amount as commission for their labours. At present there is no proportion between the wholly unnecessary pomp and extravagance of the moneyed class and the squalid surroundings and the grinding pauperism of the ryots in whose midst the former are living. A model zamindar would therefore at once reduce much of the burden the ryot is now bearing, he would come in intimate touch with the ryots and know their wants and inject hope into them in the place of despair which is killing the very life out of them. He will not be satisfied with the ryots' ignorance of the laws of sanitation and hygiene. He will reduce himself to poverty in order that the ryot may have the necessaries of life. He will study the economic condition of the ryots under his care, establish schools in which he will educate his own children side by side with those of the ryots. He will purify the village well and the village tank. He will teach the ryot to sweep his roads and clean his latrines by himself doing this necessary labour. He will throw open without reserve his own gardens for the unrestricted use of the ryot. He will use as hospital, school, or the like most of the unnecessary buildings which he keeps for his pleasure. If only the capitalist class will read the signs of the times, revise their notions of God-given right to all they possess, in an incredibly short space of time the seven hundred thousand dung-heaps which today pass muster as villages can be turned into abodes of peace, health and comfort. I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain. There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert. I have hoped that India will successfully avert the disaster. The privilege I had of meeting intimately some of the young talukdars in the U.P. has strengthened the hope.

Young India, 5-12-1929

256. KHADI AND HONESTY

Sjt. C. R. Rajagopalachari sends me an interesting letter, which with the omission of personal references and one or two redundant passages I publish below:[1]

> . . . I admit that till now I have been indifferent regarding khadi. But I have now realized that khadi men are men who follow truth. The day before yesterday I went to Coimbatore khadi depot. . . . I had with me notes of the value of Rs. 10,000 . . . which I placed . . . on the table. I quite forgot about the money and left the depot. After some time, your manager saw the money and in the hot sun came to Podanur . . . handed over the money to me . . .

This letter shows how unreasoning and illogical we are. Surely there is no necessary connection between honesty and khadi. Even rogues must cover themselves and therefore may wear khadi. I am sorry also to have to confess that not all the workers in the employ of the A.I.S.A. have always been found to be honest. Would that every one of them was incorruptible. But alas! khadi service like every other service has its black sheep. And supposing for the moment that all khadi servants were incorruptible, it is still possible for khadi to be a huge mistake or an economic waste. But I know that many have come to khadi not on the strength of its merits but on grounds irrelevant to khadi, and I know too that some others have left off using khadi not because it is an error but because they have not liked something some khadi men have done or not done. Whilst therefore I do not mind the adventitious aid such as the possessor of the ten thousand rupees notes promises to give, khadi to be stable must stand on its own unassailable merits. These are fortunately being proved day after day.

The other reflection the foregoing letter gives rise to is somewhat humiliating. Why should anyone run into ecstasies because someone is found to possess the ordinary honesty of not stealing other people's property? Have we fallen so low that a man forgetfully leaving valuables in a shop may not feel as safe about them as if they were in his possession? At any rate this letter has a lesson for men and women in khadi service. Their honesty

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

may bring rich votaries to the altar of *Daridranarayana*. And He needs them all.

Young India, 5-12-1929

257. "THE STORY OF BARDOLI"

Mahadev Desai who was the literary secretary of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel during the Bardoli Satyagraha campaign wrote some months ago the history of that great and eventful struggle in Gujarati. Sardar Vallabhbhai had intended that an English edition too should be published so that a wider public may be in possession of a faithful record of the events. Mahadev Desai had first-hand and intimate knowledge of most of the stirring events of those exciting times. He has now placed before the public an English edition. In view of the impending upheaval during the coming year, the book should be read by every national worker. The text covers 323 pages and including the appendices and the index extends to 363 pages. It is published by the Navajivan Press at Rs. 2/8 cardboard binding with khadi back. It contains a specially prepared map, fine illustrations and a helpful glossary.

Young India, 5-12-1929

258. OUR DELUSION

Tulsidas says:

> Like the appearance of silver in conch shell
> And of water in the sun's rays;
> Illusions, though ever unreal,
> Are impossible to remove.

Every day I experience the profound truth embodied in these lines. Any notion — whether good or evil — is hard to remove once it takes possession of one's head or heart, unless experience destroys it.

So has the delusion in the form of untouchability taken deep roots among the Hindus. Reason tells us that no one is untouchable. People have neither a name nor a definition for an untouchable. If an untouchable conceals his so-called untouchability no one, excepting a few who recognize him, will guess that he is an untouchable. That is why several 'untouchable' brothers can freely visit temples and other places.

If untouchability were a part of religion an untouchable of one province would be treated as such in every other province. In fact, however, the untouchables of Assam are not considered untouchables in Sind. The untouchables of Travancore are not treated as such anywhere else. Not a trace of the untouchability and unapproachability prevalent in Travancore is to be seen in other places.

This delusion of untouchability has assumed monstrous and terrible proportion among the Hindus. Shri Jamnalal is striving hard to eradicate it. His success in getting the temples thrown open to the untouchables is no mean achievement. Events like the opening of the eight temples to the untouchables at Jabalpur and the participation of distinguished citizens, etc., are quite hopeful signs. The best way to remove this delusion of untouchability is that those who have overcome it should by their actions convince others still labouring under it that untouchability has no connection with religion.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 5-12-1929

259. *CABLE TO SAROJINI NAIDU*

[Before *December 6, 1929*][1]

DEVI SAROJINI NAIDU
NAIROBI

COUNTRYMEN THERE MAY ON NO ACCOUNT COMPROMISE NATIONAL HONOUR.

GANDHI[2]

From a photostat: S.N. 15518

[1] The addressee was to preside over the Congress at Nairobi beginning from December 6, 1929.

[2] This is followed by instructions for his secretary: "Make sure of the address".

260. *TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

AHMEDABAD,
December 6, 1929

PANDITJI NEHRU
LUCKNOW

YOUR WIRE[1]. I CONSIDER MY PRESENCE WHOLLY UNNECESSARY DELHI. THINK SITUATION WILL BE ENTIRELY MET BY YOUR SEEING HIM. REPLY WARDHA IF NECESSARY.[2]

GANDHI

Motilal Nehru Papers, File No. G-1. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

261. *LETTER TO HARDATTA SHARMA*[3]

[Before *December 7, 1929*][4]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The second (reason) I gave only for the sake of completing the truth. The decisive cause was my utter inability to do justice to anything else than the political situation that will confront us during the Congress week.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Tribune, 10-12-1929

[1] Dated December 5, 1929. It read: "Your letter. Viceroy's invitation to me personally for twentythird received through Sapru and accepted long ago. Viceroy intended inviting you also but feared you had no time. He can now be informed you can meet him. His object is discuss Congress view freely with us. Presence of non-Congressmen with entirely different views will not help. I think only we two should interview. Have therefore not wired Vithalbhai. Wire your view."

[2] Addressee's reply dated December 7, 1929 read: "Your wire. Think your presence interview indispensable. Meeting Vithalbhai Delhi tomorrow night. Shall wire."

[3] In reply to addressee's request to Gandhiji to explain his inability to preside over the Social Conference; *vide* "Telegram to Ruchiram Sahni", p. 207.

[4] *The Tribune* report is date-lined December 7.

262. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 7, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

We arrived here at six in the morning.

I had a frank talk with Jugatram about Tara. He is of the view that it would do Tara good if she stays on in Wardha; after she has recovered, she may resume work at Vedchhi. He will give her the work which we have thought about. After the talk, I wrote to you yesterday. I am waiting for a wire today. I enclose with this papers which should be filed with you.

Important changes have been introduced in the Ashram this time. Keep a note of them. We must have a record of lapses due to carelessness on everyone's part. Say, for instance, someone did not do his work in the kitchen in time; in such a case a note should go to the office. Even if no action is taken in the matter, the thing should not remain out of notice of the manager and the chief manager of the department concerned. The registers of all adult students, that is, of students who are above 16, should be complete so that we may know from them which of them attended prayers both times on how many days and did or neglected sacrificial spinning on which days. All of them must hand over their yarn every week. The quantity received from each should be stored separately and khadi be made from it. No one should be asked to give more than 160 rounds of yarn for this.

The work of the sanitary department must become regular. The person in charge of the department should go round all the lavatories every day. Others besides Gangabehn should learn to make bread.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4155

the non-co-operation movement. Acharya Gidwani, Acharya Kripalani and now Kakasaheb have nurtured this plant. Gujaratis have supplied the required quantities of water to it. More water is required now. The Vidyapith, instead of pursuing a policy of accumulating wealth and building up capital, has relied on the generosity of the public. It is an institution of the people. They should water it so long as they wish. This is one of the best external methods of preserving the integrity of a public institution. Ordinarily, funds are collected from people by going from door to door. This time, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Kakasaheb have expressed a new hope. They expect the people to contribute to the best of their abilities without expecting a visit to their homes. It should not be necessary for the principal organizers to give their time to the collection of funds. Gujaratis should send their contributions, according to their capacity, for the institution which they love. It is my hope that they will fulfil the expectations of Sardar and Kakasaheb. This appeal is addressed not to Gujarat but to Gujaratis. That is to say, it is imperative for Gujaratis living outside Gujarat, whether in other provinces, in Burma, Singapore, Japan, East, South or North Africa, Mauritius, Madagascar or other countries also to send in their contributions.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-12-1929

267. SOME SIGNIFICANT QUESTIONS

A friend has asked some significant questions with reference to the bombshell that the Viceroy has thrown in our midst, the resulting tumult and the hopes entertained in some quarters. These questions must have arisen in the minds of many others too. Hence it is necessary to some extent to express my views on them. I give below the questions and the replies.

1. What is meant by Dominion Status? Does it imply a genuine partnership and an equal status in the British Empire, or does it mean responsible government under the leadership of the British? Does it imply the Dominion Status as understood prior to 1919 or the status as defined by the Imperial Conference of 1926?

The term Dominion Status has no definite connotation. If the terminology applicable to living beings can be applied to it, it may be said that it has not even attained maturity yet, and hence it deserves to be protected and can be made very healthy if fed

on a proper diet. If the atmosphere is unfavourable, there is a possibility of its becoming pale since it happens to be delicate. And it may even be suffocated if it does not get oxygen. Hence the health and vitality of that baby depend upon the country where it is nurtured. If it happens to come to India, its development will depend upon how we look after it. Hence, in my opinion, we have little to do with the definitions given in 1919 and 1926. Its definition will be determined by our ability to obtain it. And when its precise connotation has not been defined, every person can interpret it as he chooses. My definition is this: Dominion Status implies the fullest equality and a voluntary relationship with the British Government in India which either party can freely break off with or without giving reasons for doing so. It does not exist where there is any room whatsoever for the distinction of superior and inferior. Dominion Status means independence.

2. The Indian States may, of course, be invited to the same Conference as British India. But what if the former come in the way of true independence of British India? What guarantee is there that the British Government will not side with them and prevent us from progressing by making their treaty with the Indian States a pretext? Right up to the present day, the States have been deliberately kept aloof from the political activities of British India; why is this policy being reversed today all of a sudden? Even the Butler Committee is opposed to the amalgamation of the Indian States with British India without the former's consent. Why then this sudden reversal of outlook? And what about the subjects of the Indian States? Have their representatives no place whatsoever in the forthcoming Conference?

Whether the Indian States intend to do so or not, they will certainly stand in our way if we—that is, the party demanding swaraj—lack spirit. I myself have scented some diplomacy in the bringing of the Indian States to the forefront at this juncture. The Empire has earlier used them as pawns in their game. It seems that these pawns have been used this time. The princes are dependent on the Empire for their very existence. Hence they have no alternative but to dance to the tune of the Empire, and if we realized this we shall also know that we shall not be able to derive any advantage by maligning them. We should realize their dependence, regard them as merely the limbs of the Empire and be on our guard, and, knowing that in whatever they say or do on such an occasion they merely echo the words or the deeds of the Empire, we should concentrate our attention upon the latter alone. I entertain no fears regarding the subjects of the Indian States. So long as independence is not secured, many of the evils of

the Empire will be found to be magnified in the Indian States. I cannot visualize a form of swaraj in which the Swaraj Party would have bartered away the rights of the people of the Indian States.

3. Supposing there is unanimous agreement at the Conference, does Parliament still have the authority to make changes in its decisions? It has been authoritatively proclaimed that Parliament continues to maintain its independence in this context and even the political parties in Britain are not in any way committed in this matter. Is there not then the possibility of the labours of the forthcoming Conference coming to naught? There should be some guarantee regarding this also — and that too before we agree to co-operate.

This question is an echo of our weakness. From the legal standpoint, Parliament is certainly the supreme body. It can wipe out the work of the Conference. However, there is no need to ask for any guarantee regarding the decision of the Conference, as suggested by the person who has put the question, at a conference which India will be attending by reason of its strength. Moreover, I am also of opinion that it does no credit to us to ask for such a guarantee and that no party in Britain has the right to give it.

4. Why is such great emphasis laid on the policy of 1917 and the Act of 1919? Lord Irwin claims that India will get swaraj as a matter of course according to the policy of 1917. What does the phrase "in the fulness of time" signify? Mr. Benn says, "There is no change, in substance or time, until after the Conference has met."[1]

Do they not appear to be threatening words? And, in all this, there is no reference whatever to the economic rights — economic independence— of India. According to the Congress resolution of 1922, the Indian people are not bound to pay up their national debt. Has that resolution been completely set aside? Will Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill[2] also be set aside? Foreign banks have usurped many rights; shall we ever take these into account? These points are not included in the clarification issued by Lord Irwin; but could we, for that reason, forget them?

The fact that the Act of 1919 has been stressed gives rise to fear. And even if there is nothing to fear in it, it certainly is an ambiguous statement. It is for this very reason that the leaders who have signed it have been asked to clarify its meaning. I am not unhappy because the economic independence of India has not been mentioned in the official communication issued by Lord Irwin.

[1] The source has the passages in quotes in English.

[2] To reserve for Indians trade along the coastal ports

Anything that does not include economic independence cannot be regarded as swaraj at all. The Congress resolution of 1922 regarding the debt has not been nullified; it still holds good and its consideration is essential in the scheme of swaraj. The same may be said of the Haji Bill and the banks. We cannot expect to find the plan for swaraj to be given in the official communication of the Viceroy. However, it should certainly be made clear that the Congress Party can attend a conference only on condition that each and every question relating to swaraj can be freely discussed there. This has not been clarified in Lord Irwin's communication and in my opinion it is the dharma not only of the Congress Party but of all other parties also to have this point clarified before attending the Conference.

Let me finally say this too. The Labour Government does have the authority but lacks the strength to utilize that authority to its fullest extent. We on our part lack the strength to get our demands accepted. Hence I entertain only a meagre hope of two parties which lack strength getting together and doing any great service to India. My inner voice tells me that if the British Labour Party really wishes to see India gain her independence, it should muster all its strength at present and then carry on a life and death struggle until this independence is achieved. We, on the other hand, should realize our want of strength and keep away from such intricate matters like conferences. However, worldly affairs are not carried on in such logical manner. Hence, we cannot suddenly turn down a hopeful proposal even if it be one from the weak Labour Party. We may attend the Conference, in fact, it should be the dharma of the satyagrahi to do so, provided conditions are granted which would ensure success and an atmosphere is created where we are assured that these will be abided by. A satyagrahi will not let go an opportunity, however small it may be, for any possible compromise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-12-1929

268. LETTER TO MATHURADAS P. GANDHI

WARDHA,
December 8, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I hope you are carrying out my suggestions to you regarding daily attendance, etc. Keep me informed from time to time how the work is going on.

Inform me about Motibehn's daily work. See that she writes her diary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3734

269. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 8, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. Anyone who has kept a regular diary for the whole year may, if he or she wishes, get that book. For the present, it will be enough if all the people start using a small note-book like the one I use. Keeping a good diary is an art, and it can be of much benefit to the person keeping it and to the Ashram. One can record one's work for the day in the fewest possible words and give a brief description of the things done.

I had sent a letter for you from Bardoli itself in regard to Tara. I had enclosed it with Apte's[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4156

[1] Who had come from Kolhapur to learn khadi work

270. *LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM*

WARDHA,
December 9, 1929

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

Why do you get ill so often? I hope Baby is flourishing as well as I. You may send the bowl through someone minus the coppers. Let them multiply with you.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3175

271. *TELEGRAM TO VITHALBHAI PATEL*

[On or after *December 9, 1929*][1]

PRESIDENT PATEL
NEW DELHI

WROTE YOU SATURDAY.[2] MOTILALJI WIRES HE IS SEEING YOU.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15579

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram received on December 9, 1929 which read: "Anxiously awaiting your wire for writing to the Viceroy. Sapru has consented."

[2] Conveying the contents of this letter, the addressee wrote to the Viceroy on December 11, 1929: "Gandhi now writes to me that he has received a telegram from Motilal . . . that he (Motilal) has already received and accepted an invitation from Your Excellency to meet you on the 23rd of December and that the idea is to discuss the Congress point of view with Your Excellency with *Congressmen alone*. In these circumstances, Gandhi adds that it was wholly unnecessary for me to move in the matter. On receipt of this letter, I at once sent a copy of it to Mr. Jinnah and informed him that the arrangement had fallen through." *Vithalbhai Patel : Life and Times*, Book II, p. 1072

If all of you in the Ashram do not know, you may know by this that Rajibehn, who lived in the Ashram for some time, died of illness in her village. Chandulal had come here and he gave me the news. She was guilty of serious lapses, but she had eaten the salt of the Ashram and it is, therefore, our duty to pay her the tribute of remembrance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4158

276. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

WARDHA,
December 11, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I wonder why you have not received my letters. I replied to every one of your letters. I have informed you of the date of my leaving here. At the earliest I may leave on the 20th. I have received all your letters and I was quite satisfied. With one letter I wrote, I had posted one to Jayaprakash too. Was that also lost in transit? Come as early as you can.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–10: Shri Prabhavatibehnne, pp. 25-6

277. NOTES

ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY CAMPAIGN

The trustees and the others concerned in the opening to the so-called untouchables of eight temples in Jabalpur and one in Bombay[2] deserve congratulations for their timely action. By it they have rendered a service to Hinduism and India and brought fresh hope to the untouchables who had begun to show signs of impatience. It is impossible to avoid an exhibition of impatience and worse if, after having awakened them to a sense of their awful position, we do not succeed in easing it for them

[1] Here follows a note that as Gandhiji was engaged in a competition of spinning on the *takli* and the spinning-wheel, he could not sign the letter himself.

[2] Ramchandra temple. *Vide* pp. 222-3.

before it becomes too late. They must drink the ozone of freedom just as much as the so-called higher classes expect to do as a result of the mass awakening that has come into being. We Hindus may not expect freedom so long as we hold a fifth of ourselves as bondsmen unfit even to be touched and sometimes even to approach us within a certain distance or to be seen by us.

LALAJI MEMORIAL

Writing from memory on the collection for Lalaji Memorial in the U.P. I said over Rs. 30,000 was collected.[1] Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon sends me a reminder and I have now the figures before me that the total collected during the tour was Rs. 42,138-8-9. This is apart from the sums collected before the tour and the sums promised during the tour but not yet realized. But whilst the actual total is more satisfactory than I had thought, my complaint that the U.P. has not done enough justice to the memory of a great patriot stands. I hope that Sjt. Tandon will undertake another collection tour and not rest till the U.P. has paid at least Rs. 1,00,000.

DELHI HINDU COLLEGE COLLECTION

The Principal, Hindu College, Delhi, writes:[2]

The amount actually received was duly included in the total for Delhi in the usual columns, and I am grateful for Rs. 800 now received. No doubt no mention was made in the notes even as none was made of several other important and interesting items. It was impossible to take such a detailed notice of all the events. Only the most outstanding items were selected out of the many in a crowded programme in a tour which had to be finished during half the time required for covering such a vast area as that of the United Provinces.

Young India, 12-12-1929

[1] *Vide* pp. 219-20.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. While sending Rs. 800, as promised, the correspondent had pointed out that Gandhiji's visit to their college and the sum collected there were not mentioned in the tour account published in *Young India*.

278. U.P. NATIONAL SERVICE

It was a happy idea of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during my recent tour to ask for funds for forming a national service for the province. Rs. 12,036-15-9 were collected for the purpose. Though the sum is not adequate for the purpose intended, it is a goodly sum as a nucleus. The idea of having a national service is not new. Ever since 1920 it has been before the country. But Pandit Jawaharlal has given it a shape and a habitation. National work must suffer so long as we have to depend upon volunteers who give only a part of their time and that too by fits and starts. Permanent work requires permanent whole time workers. This can best be done by each province establishing its service in accordance with its needs and out of funds collected locally. Feeling hampered at every step for want of trained and tried permanent workers, Pandit Jawaharlal seized the opportunity that the tour gave him of getting funds. I hope now that no time will be lost in framing rules and inviting applications. Untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, boycott of foreign cloth, total prohibition, national education, etc., can absorb a large number of permanent workers. Indeed our ideal should be to have at least one worker to every one of the seven hundred thousand villages. But apart from the A.I.S.A. we have hardly a worker even for every district. All the provinces will naturally watch the coming U.P. national service organization. Experience teaches that any such service to be truly national and permanent, though a creation of the Congress, must stand outside of its varying politics and must enjoy complete responsible self-government. We must be able to give an absolute assurance to our workers that they will not be subject to dismissal with the annual change in the elected office-bearers of the Congress. This assurance is possible only under an autonomous board with well devised constitution.

Young India, 12-12-1929

279. *THE THIRD-CLASS CARRIAGE*

I was a third-class passenger from Allahabad to Patna on 20th November last. . . .

I have travelled thousands of miles in third-class carriages throughout the length and breadth of India during the last four years, and my experience is that ordeals of this kind are of common occurrence.

Such a condition of things would be utterly impossible in any well governed country.[1]

Having become a Mahatma, although I have resumed third-class travelling for the past twelve months or more, my experiences of overcrowding that more than resemble Mirabai's can only date back to 1915 to 1917. These were duly recorded in the Press[2] at the time I had gone through them. I had however flattered myself with the belief that as a consequence of these disclosures, overcrowding had been at least made bearable. But I see that I was mistaken. The railway management is no respecter of persons so far as non-Europeans or un-Anglicized Indians are concerned. For Europeans and Anglicized Indians there is no doubt more than needed comfort in third-class carriages. For the 60,17,78,000 third-class passengers who made in 1925-26 payment of Rs. 34,76,45,000 to the railways, they must be content to be 'packed like sardines' in boxes. Though they pay fares as passengers having wants of the same kind as 1st and 2nd class passengers, they are treated as if they were so many parcels to be thrown in a heap into a luggage van. If Mirabai had exercised the privilege of her colour and birth she would either not have gone through the experiences she has, or if she had, her complaint would have been heard in the proper quarters. Let the reader and the other concerned ponder over the following instructive figures for 1925-26:

	Passengers			
	1st	2nd	Inter	Third
Numbers in thousands	11,69	1,04,87	1,40,09	60,17,78
Income in thousands of rupees	1,20,42	1,89,42	1,59,61	34,76,45

[1] Only extracts from Mirabehn's article are reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 284-7, 547-51 and Vol. XIV, pp. 124-6 and 177-8.

But at present it is of course doubtful whether her article will have any effect on the authorities.[1]

We ourselves are one of the causes of this disease. The sayings 'Only he can sell his goods who shouts their names' and 'Not unless you ask will even mother serve you a helping at a meal' are as true as they are trite and common. Our spirit of tolerance passes all limit, and the result is laziness and painful indifference. Many of the difficulties can be removed if our sense of self-respect is awakened, if we look upon it as our duty to end discomforts which it is not our duty to submit to, and if we gladly suffer the hardships which follow from our doing this duty. Passengers should refuse to go into a carriage whenever they find in it more than the lawfully fixed number. They should be prepared to run the risk of missing their train occasionally, if necessary. If after the matter has been brought to his notice a railway official does not find for the passengers the room required, I think he can be sued in a court of law. Ordinary passengers cannot take that step. They would either abuse or fight. Action which requires patience, firmness and knowledge is only for the educated and experienced passengers to undertake. Whenever they have to face such occasions they ought to take proper steps without fail.

Young India, 12-12-1929 and *Navajivan*, 19-1-1930

280. *AN IMPORTANT AWARD*[2]

The award given by the Umpire, Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, in the matter referred to him by the unofficial permanent arbitration board appointed voluntarily by the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association and the Textile Labour Union is, as the reader will recognize from the text printed elsewhere, an important document. The Umpire's judgment is a preparation evidencing a careful study of the facts of the case and is a bold enunciation of the doctrine that when 'the worker does not get enough wages to enable him to maintain a suitable standard of living', 'he can ask his employer to pay him wages which would enable him to do so.' The contention advanced by labour for the past many years and denied by employers that it is entitled to a living wage has been wholly accepted, as I maintain it

[1] This and the following paragraph are from *Navajivan*, 19-1-1930.

[2] *Vide* "Appeal to Ahmedabad Labourers", p. 247; also "Textile Labourers' Demand", 15-12-1929.

was bound to be, by the Umpire. It is also worthy of note that he has found as a matter of fact that the average earnings of families of labourers including the lowest paid and the highest paid are not more than Rs. 40 per month and the expenses not less than Rs. 50 per month. Now the matter referred to the Umpire was the demand made by labour for full restoration of the cut of 15% made in 1923 by the mill-owners in labour wages. The learned Umpire having granted the contention that labour is entitled to a living wage and that as a matter of fact Ahmedabad textile labour is not getting such a wage, it is not easy to understand why the whole of the cut has not been restored. The reader will note that even the restoration of the whole cut would not send up the wage to Rs. 50 per month. The only explanation I can discover for this discrepancy between the finding on the theory and its actual enforcement in terms of wages is that the Umpire was afraid of his own finding, or that he hesitated to condemn, even by implication, the action of the mill-owners in making the cut in 1923, and that too not by arbitration, but by an arbitrary exercise of their power to coerce labour. For whilst it is quite true that the condition of the mill industry was not as prosperous as it was in the War period, it was a period of merely less profits, not of loss and encroachment upon capital. The question of cut can occur, if at all, only when the wages are so good as to leave a margin after paying for living expenses and when the industry concerned has to face an actual deficit. But the men are wedded to the principle of arbitration and therefore they must cheerfully submit to the Umpire's decision even though they do not get the full restoration of the cut. They must thankfully accept what the Diwan Bahadur has allowed, and perseveringly and peacefully work for the balance. Indeed there can be no rest for them or the employers so long as the living wage is not actually reached and better housing and other ordinary comforts are not secured. But it will be a great gain if strikes become unnecessary and the principle of arbitration is strictly adhered to by both parties. In spite therefore of the partial failure of the men, I tender my congratulations to the Diwan Bahadur for the labour of love that he gave to the task that was entrusted to him and for the prompt and impartial manner in which he approached the difficult question referred to him by both the parties.

Young India, 12-12-1929

281. IMMORALITY IN HOLY PLACES

A resident of Banaras writes:[1]

It is likely that this description is exaggerated. But after allowing for exaggerations what remains deserves to be deplored. No one should ignore these evils by saying that such immoral practices are found in the holy places of other religions as well, or in other Hindu places of pilgrimage. In any case, such immorality is reprehensible everywhere, and efforts must be made to remove it. The best method to remove these evils is for those who know them and regard them as reprehensible to purify their own lives and make it progressively purer every day. This is an ancient method. When *adharma* is on the increase, virtuous people practise penance. And penance means purification.

The other and modern method is to organize a movement through young men. These days young men's associations are multiplying. The spirit of service has grown and is still growing among young men. Much can be done if they take up this work. After making a list of all the temples, contacts should be developed with their custodians and priests, and all possible enquiry should be made about the temples against which there are complaints. Pilgrims and other visitors should be forewarned against these evils. Information should be collected about orphanages and other institutions. Much improvement will come out of these efforts. For immorality can thrive only in darkness, not in light.

The lives of young men who take up such work should be pure. Those who want to purify others can have no influence if they are not pure themselves.

A third possible course is to set up a committee of respectable and virtuous people and strive to reform religious places.

These three methods can be adopted simultaneously. We are disheartened at the sight of such immorality. But there is no need to lose heart. Several evils persist on account of our despondency and ignorance. We should have the faith that immorality is a

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the various immoral practices in Banaras, its widow-homes, orphanages, etc.

transient thing and it cannot face the dynamic morality of even a few.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 12-12-1929

282. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 12, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. I am not worrying about Padma. What I have written about Budhabhai is enclosed with this. The reply which you have given to Lilabehn is correct. If she wants a separate kitchen for her mother, she can start one in Budhabhai's house. We keep Bhansali because he is still not a person who may be described as responsible. I think it is our duty to keep him till he regains his memory. Discuss this matter with Surendra and let me know if he sees any error of reasoning in this.

Parnerkar and others came and spent a few hours here. I understand what you say about Mathuradas. He is bound to meet with difficulties.

I cannot say that I enjoy more peace here than I did there if it means that I did not enjoy peace there. What I can say is not that I had no peace there but that I did not enjoy sufficient rest there. I get plenty of it here. There is very little outdoor work and I don't have to take interest in the Ashram affairs.

Mahadev and Mirabehn are expected the day after tomorrow. Pyarali and Noorbanu were here. Madhavji and his wife Mahalakshmi have also come. There are sixteen people in the Ashram here, but at present we are as many as 32. Everyone, therefore, feels cramped for space.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4159

283. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

WARDHA,
December 13, 1929

DEAR SISTER,

How are you now? I want you to be perfectly healthy. My own health can be described as pretty good. I am taking milk, curds and fruit only, no cereals at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1665

284. LETTER TO MATHURADAS P. GANDHI

WARDHA,
December 13, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

The way before you is not without thorns. Read the enclosed letter. I have also written to Ramsahai and advised him to have a talk with you. Show boundless love, keep patience and never lose hope. If you do so you are bound to win in the end. Never feel easily satisfied with your own work and always be generous in assessing another's. Bear with the imperfect work of an honest worker. With the dishonest non-co-operate. Have love for both. That is what is meant by *samabhava*. Giving bread to the hungry, but refusing food to one suffering from indigestion, as both these acts are inspired by love for the persons, such an attitude is called *samabhava* which means treating the ant and the elephant on the same footing. Do not proceed on the belief that your new method has succeeded outright. The friction will be minimum, if you proceed by persuading and carrying with you those insisting on following the old method. Whether the method adopted is old or new, it should be followed faithfully. Write to me from time to time about the difficulties that arise. Do not feel the least embarrassed in doing so. If on any points you find my inferences based on insufficient information or mistaken, caution me about them. It may be very well to have

faith in any principles which I may lay down, but the inferences which I draw from facts can never be a matter of faith, as faith has no place at all in matters belonging entirely to the field of the intellect. Do therefore correct me whenever you find me misinformed about facts and hence mistaken in my conclusions. If you follow this practice, I shall be able to write to you more freely and guide you better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3735

285. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 13, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. It was good that you wrote to Jayantiprasad conveying permission for his wife to come. Do the same about Vrajbandhu Mishra's wife. Do not mind if Dinkarrao's wife has left. I believe that when he is absent she will never stay there. We should unfailingly observe one rule about admitting women, and that is that a woman may be admitted only if approved by Gangabehn. Her wishes should also be respected in regard to permitting any woman to stay on as an inmate. This she has a right to demand, and more than that, I believe, she does not desire. Let me state in this connection that Chandrakanta, Sumangalprakash's cousin, has arrived here. I believe that Gangabehn has agreed to her being admitted. The managing committee, too, has given its consent. In my judgment, this girl will bring credit to the Ashram. Though she is only sixteen, she is very wise, and is firm and brave. Her intelligence, too, is sharp. Her character seems to be pure and her thoughts and aspirations are mature. Who can say, though, what kind of a woman she will grow to be? If, therefore, the matter has not been considered there, let Gangabehn think about it and then the managing committee.

The entire amount received from Delhi is to be handed over to the Spinners' Association. I suppose the money received for the Lajpat Rai [Memorial] is also being sent through the Association.

It is desirable that Chimanlal and Sharda should go out somewhere. Sharda needs some control over her. She on her

own cannot exercise control over herself. She requires strict supervision. Be that as it may, it will certainly be a good thing for both of them to go out for some time. I shall write to Govind Babu.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4160

286. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

WARDHA,
December 14, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have your letter. The question itself is based on faulty reasoning. Work and rules are not two independent things, just as the elephant and the curb are not unconnected with each other. An elephant which is not properly controlled can be of no service and is actually a danger. Similarly, undisciplined work is also useless. Now tell me yourself which of the two is more important. That the number of labourers cannot be reduced and that they do not mix with us—both these are defects which it is the duty of all inmates of the Ashram to remove. If my view of the matter is correct, a rule should mean that anyone who cannot observe it should leave the Ashram. What you write about the kitchen is true. I see that our activities are increasing, but I do not feel inclined to check them since it is the same activities which are expanding. I think that work has not been properly assigned to Jethalal, Manji and Bhagwanji. At present, however, it is not my job to interfere with the running of the Ashram; my duty is to watch things and offer criticism when necessary. You are right when you say that the necessity for too many rules means that the secretary is weak. The secretary himself knows, and so do we all, that he is weak. But he will do nothing wrong knowingly. It is enough for me, and should be so for all of us, that he strives to do his best. All the questions you have asked are good. Discuss them with me when I return, and we shall then do what we can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9497

287. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 14, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. Nothing else could have been done about Lilabehn. If guests feel hurt, we are helpless in the matter. I understand your difficulty about the rules. It will be enough if you do what you can. I certainly don't like Navin and Kusum and others being able to run away from the Ashram whenever they wish. I can see disadvantages even in the facilities provided by trains, and besides there are the well-known inconveniences obvious to all. Relations lived at distant places even when there were no trains and mail was carried by runners. But people endured their misfortunes then and did not, could not, run from one place to another for anyone's sake. Even today that is the condition of millions. The rich can run about in all manner of ways. On every occasion like the present one, it hurts me to think that we are in that category. I did not, therefore, like Ba's running up to Rasik. You can draw your conclusions from this. We cannot force our views on others in such matters. Let us know, however, that Ashram-dharma is a difficult one. As on one side the field of service expands, on another it contracts. When we cultivate spiritual bonds, the worldly bonds should progressively lose their force. This seems empty wisdom today and we do not follow it, but it is worth bearing in mind.

I understand what you say about Moti and Totaramji.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4161

288. LETTER TO RAGHUNATH

[After *December 14, 1929*][1]

BHAI RAGHUNATH,

I wanted to have a talk with both of you but I had not a moment to spare. And neither of you asked for it.

Do not worry over the future. The present duty well performed gives an indication of the future.

There are no objective tests of Truth. What our heart assents to is Truth. In most cases we recognize Truth; but purity of heart is essential for the correct perception of Truth. That is where the *yama*[2], *niyama*[3] and other disciplines come in.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4215

289. VIDYAPITH'S APPEAL FOR FUNDS

Those who have in principle approved of the appeal made by Vallabhbhai and Kakasaheb should remember the following Latin proverb: "He who gives in time gives twice." We have the following parallel saying: "There is a great deal of merit in giving immediately." We experience every day the truth of the point underlying this saying. If a doctor or a vaid does not give timely medical help the patient will suffer and there are even cases in which the latter dies. We see every day that if anyone who is bitten by a snake is immediately given medical aid, he can be saved; if not, he dies. Although it is our dharma to feed a hungry person, he who does not do so immediately is guilty of violence towards the hungry individual. This should be regarded as holding good for all acts of philanthropy. There is no generosity in giving alms indiscriminately to anyone who begs. This may imply thoughtlessness, foolishness, or even pride. However, despite knowing

[1] This undated letter is placed after a letter of December 14, 1929 in a series of photostat letters chronologically arranged and preserved by Ramniklal Modi

[2] Rules of moral discipline

[3] External religious observances

that the person who begs is a worthy individual and the cause for which he begs is a deserving one, anyone who contributes his share only after the former has approached him wastes public time and forfeits his own prestige, and thereby misuses the worthiest persons belonging to the institution. Considering the Vidyapith's appeal in this light is a form of education for the people. This appeal is not addressed to people who do not approve of the Vidyapith. Its object is to point out their dharma to those who entertain no doubts regarding its usefulness or the service it has rendered and its object is also to encourage and draw those who are neutral towards it but may contribute if they come to realize its value. At this time of public awakening, no one should, as far as possible, stay neutral. Those who do not stand by their country in its hour of need also help the cause of the enemy. It is the dharma of every individual to make his choice. The Vidyapith is an institution for non-co-operation, that is, one which serves in this time of distress. Its additional advantage is that its usefulness will always endure. However, it was born in the hour of the struggle in order to assist in it. Hence it is my expectation that those who have not arrived at the conclusion that the Vidyapith is a harmful or a useless institution should come to know what it stands for, what its achievements are and what it can achieve in future. It is the dharma of such people to send in their contributions after they have known of and have been convinced about it. Contributions may be sent to the following addresses; Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer, 395-397, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2; Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad; Provincial Committee, Ahmedabad; Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad and Udyoga Mandir, Sabarmati.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

290. A PERPLEXED HUSBAND

A perplexed husband writes:[1]

I do wish to console him; but in such matters if a person does not himself find consolation, others will hardly be able to give him any. However, a person can derive some solace from an intellectual discussion. Let us, therefore, analyse the problems faced by this young husband. One can see that the power exer-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the feeble understanding of his wife whom he had been forced to marry in early childhood.

cised by tradition lies at the root of his problems. It seems that in his heart of hearts, the husband desires to exercise the authority vested in him by virtue of his being lord and master. If this is not the case, and if the husband regards the wife as a friend, there will be no cause for despair. We reason with patience with a friend and, if he is not convinced, we neither feel disappointed nor use force. If the husband has a right to entertain any expectations of his wife, will not the latter also entertain some of the former? What do many wives who regularly go to temples to have *darshan* of God do when they do not approve of the modern habits of their reformed husbands? They would not even dare to persuade their husbands. Hence, I would first of all advise this husband and others in similar predicament deliberately to give up the right of exercising authority over their wives. In order to serve and educate their wives, they should suppress all physical desire during the period of education and later patiently explain to the latter that false superstitions, faith in the priests of temples, visits to so-called places of worship, etc., are not only futile but may also prove harmful. I have not the slightest doubt that if the husband's love is pure, the wife will surely be convinced. Mango trees do not bear fruit quickly. If a tree like the mango tree requires to be tended for a number of years, how much tender care will a woman require who is like a tree and who has been kept ignorant for so long? It has been my experience that both satisfaction and success lie in such daily care and tending. One should not give up one's efforts if, after having told a person once, the latter is still unconvinced. One should have faith that such daily care will finally lead to a change of heart. Hence I am unable to advice either that one should put up with one's lot or abandon one's wife. To try in the above manner to rectify the error made by one's parents in arranging such a marriage is a truly manly effort. It is easier to be happy by abandoning one's wife; but that is not true happiness; it is not a truly manly effort and hence it is not dharma. Anyone who is aware of the poverty-stricken state of his country does not, therefore, abandon it but, on the contrary, tries until his death to free his country from the grip of poverty, puts up with many hardships and finds happiness in doing so. Once we understand this, we shall behave towards our wives accordingly. The gentleman himself admits that there are others who are faced with the same difficulties as himself. If all such husbands abandon their wives, what will be the plight of all these women in our country? Who will look after them if not their husbands? Perplexed husbands

should realize that the incompatibility that is found between husbands and wives today is also a symptom of the present plight of our country and adopt a path accordingly. Moreover, by solving such problems, they will readily learn the correct way of solving the difficulties that lie in the way of attaining swaraj and this will be an additional advantage both to themselves and to the country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-12-1929

291. MY NOTES

TRUTH BOWS BEFORE AUTHORITY

A young man writes:[1]

This is a good question. Peace is possible only where truth is pursued. Truth can be returned only by truth. Just as a person who sells the most valuable object cannot expect to get something even more valuable in return, similarly, what more than truth can a truthful person expect? I do not wish to belittle Harishchandra but it is erroneous to say that he and Dharmaraja[2] had been unhappy. They had regarded misery as happiness, so that they welcomed that which we regard as sorrow. It is for such reasons that the poet-devotee has sung:

> The path of God is the path of the courageous; here cowards have no place.

Just as the sun radiates heat and also sustains life so does truth. If the sun stops radiating heat even for a fraction of a second, this universe will become lifeless; a similar result will follow if the sun in the form of truth ceases to radiate heat even for a moment. It is a fact that we come across untruth in the world, but that is like the dross within coming out. We should never be oblivious of the fact that crores of individuals by their very nature employ truth. My own experience, without exception, suggests that no one has been able to misuse till the end whatever purity there may be in me. As against this, those who have come forward to misuse my single-minded devotion to truth have suffered loss of prestige and even much else besides. I have had to face difficulties for the sake of my adherence to truth in thought, word and deed, but I have never suffered on that

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that one does not get peace of mind by following the path of truth.

[2] Yudhishthira, eldest of the Pandava brothers

if he becomes its owner. This contention also is without any foundation. All shareholders are not intelligent persons. No one examines their hearts and their heads. Nevertheless, they have a right to vote, and the mills continue to function. In my opinion, they will function better if the labourers are given ownership rights. The experience of certain multi-millionaires in the United States of America who are experimenting on these lines lends support to my views. If labourers are given wages which exceed their bare cost of living and provide room for improving or bettering their condition, one can certainly conceive of situations in which they can be reduced. Just as it will be regarded as improper to touch the capital of the capitalists, similarly it is improper to touch the wages of the labourers which barely provide them with a livelihood. A happy state of affairs will be the one in which an arbitrating body will annually determine the wages sufficient to cover the cost of living in accordance with the price of foodgrains, and just as shareholders receive dividends, labourers should, similarly and in the same proportion, receive an increase in wages every year. I would regard it as wholly proper that this increment should vary in proportion to an increase or decrease in dividends. However, here I have digressed from the original subject-matter.

The Umpire has arrived at the conclusion that the mills are making larger profits than they did in 1923. Hence not a single valid reason can be found for not making good the percentage of the wages that was cut in 1923. Yes, the Umpire has indeed made one observation. He has stated that it was not fair to have regarded the cut effected in 1923 as improper. At that time, the mills were in a condition much worse than that during the War. That has not been repudiated on behalf of the labourers. However, during that year the mills did not have to draw upon their capital. Just because conditions prevailing in a particular mill may be proved to have been so bad, the same cannot be said to hold good of the industry as a whole. Hence, in my humble opinion, there was no reason for the Umpire not to have resolved to restore in full the fifteen per cent cut after having accepted the principle that wages should be sufficient to cover the cost of living and concluded that the wages paid fell short of this. We should bear in mind that even if the fifteen per cent cut is fully restored, the emoluments will not amount to a living wage. The Majoor Mahajan has shown good sense in not demanding a living wage for the present.

Although I believe that full justice has not been done to labour, I have nothing but congratulations to offer to Sj Krish-

nalal Jhaveri. The labours that he put into this task were in an honorary capacity. And yet he exerted himself to the maximum. He examined the entire case carefully, there has not been a single day's delay on his part, and his efforts have left on me an impression of nothing but impartiality. In other words, he has dispensed nothing but what he has regarded as justice. None can expect more than this. It is beyond the capacity of human beings to satisfy everyone equally. All that we can do is to make an attempt to do so, and we can clearly see an attempt in this direction in the award of the Umpire.

Hence, the labourers have done well in gratefully accepting the decision of the Umpire. I have already indicated in the leaflet[1] addressed specially to them what their duty is. As the Umpire's award has been acceptable to both the mill-owners and the Majoor Mahajan, it is the dharma of both the parties to honour it fully in thought, word and deed.

I would, therefore, like to congratulate the mill-owners on having resolved to accept the award of the Umpire. I find that they have expressed dissatisfaction. I do not understand this. I am also unable to understand how this will have an adverse effect on the textile industry. Even if the mill-owners agree in principle to wages being equal to the cost of living—and they are, in fact, bound to do so—they should be happy realizing that they have been saved a sum of about Rs. 20 lakhs. And they should make preparations right from today to increase the wages at the first and earliest opportunity so that they are sufficient to meet the cost of living. They should realize that a demand from labour for an increase to that extent is bound to come up at the proper time. It would redound to their credit if they agreed to the increase and offered the increased amount even before it was demanded. If the figures arrived at by the Umpire, viz., Rs. 40 as the average wage and Rs. 50 as the average expenditure, are not acceptable to them, it is their duty to go deeper into the matter and examine these figures. If they take the very first step rather unwillingly, the gap between the two sides will widen instead of the friendship between them increasing as it should do.

An acceptance of the principle of arbitration should lead to an increase in friendship and mutual confidence. And in order to foster them, both the parties should implement the award of the Umpire not by harbouring any secret grievance but wholeheartedly. If the labourers are careless even to the smallest extent

[1] *Vide* p. 247.

in this matter, they should correct their attitude. It is a publicly known fact that the mill-owners have been indifferent to this. Although they have agreed to make provision for water, overhead cover, etc., nothing has yet been done in these matters in many mills. Although there are awards relating to such matters already given by arbitration boards, the capitalists display an attitude of unconcern. I hope that these drawbacks will be rectified in good time.

There is another matter which needs to be resolved without any delay. Both Sheth Mangaldas and I are fit to retire. I see old age approaching me, hence I conclude the same about my colleague as well. I now see the necessity to appoint other arbitrators. As I have to do a lot of touring, Sheth Mangaldas, the mill-owners, and the Majoor Mahajan have been kind enough to meet my convenience. I also had to ask the Umpire to grant me that concession. So far as I was concerned, this was indeed a pitiable condition for me to be in. I am aware that it was my dharma to suit the convenience of the Umpire and go whereever he happened to be; but he realized my awkward position and himself bore the inconvenience. However, this cannot be done every day. Even the petty grievances of labourers should be heard regularly and immediately. And for this purpose, there certainly ought to be local arbitrators. The already existing board may be continued for the sake of formality or as a court of appeal. It is not even necessary that two persons should be present. It should not be difficult to find a single, impartial person from Ahmedabad. I believe that it is better to appoint somebody on a salaried basis if a man or woman cannot be found who can devote this amount of time in an honorary capacity. I do not believe that it is essential to have only a man as an arbitrator. Fortunately for Ahmedabad, we have such educated women here who have the capacity to serve, who can remain impartial, and can understand the problems. I believe that one of them can easily be chosen. At the moment, I put all this by way of a suggestion before both the parties. So far as the industry in India is concerned, Ahmedabad is second only to Bombay. Hence, if the industry in Ahmedabad is put on a stable basis, if a healthy relationship can be established between capital and labour, between owners and workers, it will be worthy of imitation by the whole of India. It is the mill-owners who have to play the principal role in this matter. Will they do so?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

293. PLIGHT OF WOMEN

A gentleman from Kathiawar who has given his name and address has given some account of the plight of two women. I abridge his letter as follows:[1]

So many details have been included in this that there is no danger of any exaggeration. It is an important question as to what women who are in such a pitiable plight should do. In a majority of cases, such women are in a sense helpless, that is to say, they are not aware of their own rights, and even if they are, they do not know what can be done in the matter. Perhaps even if they knew what was to be done, they are unable to do it. Hence they can be saved only if their relatives and friends help them. The article[2] to which the above correspondent has referred is meant for intelligent and brave women. So far as these two women are concerned, legal assistance should be enlisted and local public opinion should be cultivated, if possible. There is no need to be awed by wealth or the power of the authorities. There are at present in Gujarat ashrams for women which offer shelter to such women. These two should be taken there, educated and an attempt made to make them self-supporting too. Very often, such injustices are shielded for fear of public criticism. I regard this as unnecessary and improper. Many unjust and immoral acts cease being perpetrated once they become known.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

294. INCORRECT NEWS

A reader of *Navajivan* has sent the following cutting from a magazine and writes:[3]

Although, both my wife and I belong to the Vaishnava sect ever since we entered public life, that is, for about thirty-five

[1] This is not translated here. The correspondent had described the plight of two deserted wives. For a contradiction of this, *vide* "To Contributors and Correspondents", 23-2-1930.

[2] *Vide* pp. 4-6.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji to comment on the report that Kasturba touched the feet of holy men.

years now, neither of us has the slightest recollection of my wife ever having gone for *darshan* of a maharaj[1]. I fail to understand how the writer could have gathered the courage to publish such news. I myself do not have faith in touching anyone's feet. Even if this sentiment is worth nurturing, it will only be worthy of those individuals who are known for their integrity and character. I have never been able to convince myself that all persons born in the family of traditional maharajs are like gurus.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

295. TO WEARERS OF FINE KHADI

I am very sorry to say that a good deal of deceit is being practised with regard to the fine khadi from Andhra which has become famous. Just as the priests in temples are not afraid of stealing the temple property, the custodians of the poor do not hesitate to misuse khadi which is like God's blessings to the poor. They are not ashamed to sell fine cloth made of foreign yarn by passing it off as khadi. The Charkha Sangh has taken drastic measures after this fact came to its notice. However, it is necessary for those who wear fine khadi to help the Charkha Sangh. They should not even touch a bolt of khadi which does not bear the stamp of the Charkha Sangh or one which has not come from a bhandar that has been certified by the Sangh. Those who wish to obtain a list of certified bhandars can do so by sending a one-anna stamp to the Secretary of the Charkha Sangh. It is the dharma of those who wish to wear pure but fine khadi to take this trouble. Those who do not wear khadi for the sake of outword show but for the sake of swaraj and for the sake of those who are dying of starvation should not rest satisfied until they have convinced themselves of its genuineness. Such men and women should also make themselves familiar with the method of discerning genuine khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

[1] Priest of a temple

296. *DISEASES IN VILLAGES*[1]

In the consideration of public education, knowledge of the alphabet takes a subordinate place. It can be said that knowledge of the alphabet has no place at all among the important aspects of life. *Moksha* is for us the final state to be desired. Who will deny that knowledge of the alphabet is not necessary for *moksha* here and hereafter? If we have to wait until crores of people have gained a knowledge of the alphabet in order to win swaraj, attainment of the latter will become almost an impossibility. Moreover, no one has claimed that the great teachers of the world like Jesus Christ had this knowledge.

Knowledge of the alphabet has been given the least important place in this series of articles. It is a means and not an end. It is a well-known fact that as a means it is very useful. However, when considering the type of knowledge that is required for crores of farmers who are engaged in their occupations and have reached a mature age, we find that there is much else that they should be taught before being given a knowledge of the alphabet. We find the same thing in Mr. Brayne's book from which I have given summaries of some parts.[2]

We have already considered the sanitation of villages from this standpoint. Farmers can readily acquire a knowledge of the improvements mentioned in the earlier chapters. It is the dearth of good volunteers and the lethargy of farmers that come in the way of their acquiring this knowledge.

Today we shall consider diseases which are commonly found in villages. It has been the experience of all my colleagues who have lived in villages that fever, constipation and boils are the most common ailments. There are many other diseases, but they need not be considered at the present moment. The above three are the ones that come in the way of the farmer carrying on his profession. It is very necessary for him to know the household remedies for them. By ignoring these complaints, we suffer a loss of crores of rupees. And yet these maladies can be cured very easily. The eradication of these ailments was of course

[1] This appeared in *Shikshan ane Sahitya* supplement.

[2] *Vide* pp. 143-9.

included in the work that was begun in Champaran under the supervision of the late Dr. Dev. The volunteers there had no more than three medicines with them. Later experience also leads to the same conclusion. However, this series of articles does not envisage a knowledge of how those treatments are to be carried out. That is a separate and interesting subject. What is to be pointed out here is that the farmers should be taught how to treat these three ailments in a scientific way and that this is an easy task. If sanitary conditions are maintained in the villages, some diseases will just not occur. And every vaidya knows that prevention is the best cure. Constipation can be prevented if one can prevent indigestion, fevers are prevented if the atmosphere of the village is kept free from pollution. Boils can be prevented if the water in the village is kept clean and if one takes bath with clean water daily. Fasting is the best remedy if any of these three ailments occurs and a hip-bath and sun-bath are useful aids during fasting. This has been discussed in detail in "General Knowledge About Health"[1]. I would request every volunteer to go through it.

I find everywhere a feeling that a village should have a hospital, if not that, at least a dispensary. I have, however, not seen the need for it at all. It would be nice if such an institution existed in the vicinity of several villages. However, this is a matter that does not deserve to be given much importance. Wherever there is a hospital, it is bound to be filled up with patients. From this, it should not be concluded that it would be a great boon to the villagers if there were seven lakh hospitals in the seven lakh villages. The village school should serve as a dispensary, and its reading-room should also be located there. Diseases are there in every village, a reading-room should be there in every village and a school is also needed there; but if one thinks of having separate buildings for each of these three institutions, one will realize that taking all the villages into consideration crores of rupees will be required for it and also it will take a long time. Hence, while considering the problem of public education and village improvement, there is no alternative for us but to keep the country's extreme poverty in mind.

Had we not borrowed our ideas on such matters from a nation which has enriched itself by robbing foreign countries and, had

[1] *Vide* Vols. XI and XII.

there been a true awakening amongst us, the face of our villages would have altered long ago.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-12-1929

297. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 15, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

After reading the *Ashram Samachar* I had asked you to write about certain matters; I had the news concerning them read out to me yesterday. The note about the changes is a good one. I see from the news that Velanbehn has started a separate kitchen. All right.

Mirabehn has arrived. Prabhavati is likely to come, accompanied by her husband and Mahadev.

A Marwari merchant who sells pure ghee in Bombay was here. He sells cow's ghee too. The rate is one and a quarter rupees for a pound, but he promised to sell it to us at one rupee a pound whenever we required it. His name is Khemraj Agrawal. Address: 192 Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. He is known as 'ghee merchant'. I have sent these particulars for your information thinking that they may be useful to us when we need it.

I dictated the foregoing after the morning prayer. I have now received today's mail, which contains a letter from you too. Did I write to you and tell you that Madhavji and his wife are here? Pyarali and Noorbanu also are here. I think it is necessary to note in the diary particulars about every kind of work done. If, however, someone does not wish to write about work done in addition to eight hours' work or about social duties outside the Ashram, we cannot force him or her to do so. I would, however, say that such a person does not even know how to think. However, this is only about khadi students. You and I can claim no hour as private. To keep aside an hour as private or to think a private thought is certainly as much personal possession as money can be, but it can be personal possession of even a worse kind. Frightful instances of this occur to me even as I dictate this. Really speaking, the diary should contain notes about everything done from four in the morning to eight in the evening. If it is a sacred duty for the Ashram to maintain a daily cash account, it is equally

a sacred duty for all to maintain a diary. Metal is not the real money; time is. The Lord has said: "Of reckoners, I am Time"[1] and he who does not keep an account of his time is a prince among deceivers.

Perhaps I too would not understand the meaning of the sentence: "We should tell anyone who does not attend prayers—if you do not come, leave the Ashram." But what I wished to say was this: "We should tell those who have agreed to join in prayers or any other compulsory duties and yet do not take part in them, that they should leave, for if they break their word in one respect they are likely to do so in other matters too." Is not this as clear as light? But you will not be able to carry out this all at once, even after you have realized the necessity of observing rules, for we have been lax for quite a long time. At present, therefore, you should merely wake up the people. After I return, I shall, if all of you agree, take upon myself the responsibility of acting upon my suggestion.

It is not as if I do not understand Tara's love for me even in her refusal to come. I have a beautiful letter today from her too.

I can readily say what lesson we as a body can take from the Ashram at Wardha. The peace, the respect for rules and the sacrificial work done here have appealed to me very much. By peace I mean absence of noise. Respect for rules means doing everything, from prayer onwards, at the fixed time so that the outward life of the Ashram may go on in an orderly manner. In the sacrificial work, everyone is bound to spin yarn of not less than 30 counts. A sari of eight and a quarter yards length and fifty [inches] width has just been made. The Ashram inmates themselves wove it. Weaving it took 24 hours. The yarn is excellent. All cloth of such fine count is sold. The inmates of the Ashram themselves do not wear khadi of more than eight or ten counts. Since all work is done according to rules, I don't see anyone who worries. One of the reasons for this condition here is of course that the number of inmates is small. I have merely replied to your question.

I send with this letters received from Umiya and her husband. They should be read out without fail at the women's prayer meeting. Convey the news to others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4162

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, X. 30

298. LETTER TO RAMANAND CHATTERJEE

WARDHA,
December 16, 1929

DEAR RAMANAND BABU[1],

I received your letter of 26th November only today. You want me to give you 1000 words. It is like drawing 1000 live teeth at present. And you wanted this for your Xmas number. Does it not mean I am too late? But if I am not, to find time for writing out something of the size you want, is physically impossible. Every minute is premortgaged.

I have forgotten all about the promise but I would gladly fulfil it if you can wait and send me a reminder, if you find that I am still not resting somewhere near Yeravda in January.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 9282. Courtesy: Santadevi

299. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

WARDHA,
Silence Day, December 16, 1929

SISTERS,

Having written to you a sufficiently long letter last time, I wish to be brief today. I have many other letters to write, and the time at my disposal is up. I may write about all manner of things, but you may accept from my letters only that which you can digest. You can leave the rest. Strive hard to act upon what you understand and accept.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3713

[1] Editor, *Modern Review*, Calcutta

300. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

Silence Day, December 16, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. Tell Budhabhai that he can certainly make in the document the change which he suggests. I shall see Chhotubhai when he comes.

My view about [attendance at] prayers will be clear from what I wrote yesterday. If Mathew has a religious objection, we may respect it, though, according to the rule, such persons too should remain present. My attitude, however, is that those who have accepted the rule should not remain absent.

I have already informed you that Madhavji and his wife are here. They are thinking of renouncing everything and devoting themselves to service. For the present, they wish to join the Ashram to get some experience. I believe that, if they come, we should permit them. I have said this in my letter to Gangabehn. You and the managing committee should also think about this. I think the husband and the wife are good in every way and have respect for rules.

The question about Chandrakanta's mother is altogether different. She is a capable lady. I have no time just now to go into the whole case. She will probably be reluctant for some time to have meals in the common kitchen. She wants to be self-supporting and live near her daughter. I have told her that she should give all her time to the Ashram and do the work assigned to her, and that she will be paid Rs. 25. She will have to live in a room in Budhabhai's house and cook her meals there. She will probably accept this suggestion. She says that she knows tailoring well. I think, if she does work of that type, she will not be a burden on us. If, in addition, she observes the other rules, I think there should be no difficulty in permitting her to stay with us. Think about this case too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4163

301. LETTER TO M

December 16, 1929

BHAI M,

If you do everything thoroughly, after careful thinking, the next steps will suggest themselves to you and you will find contentment.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4216

302. LETTER TO M

December 16, 1929

CHI. M,

It is not wrong to refuse to undertake a task, but it is altogether wrong to leave off a task once begun. Now that you have vowed to write the diary, it should not be discontinued. As spinning is a sacrificial activity for us, we ought to learn it properly. Write to me from time to time.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4217

303. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 17, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. Let all the people think further, and afresh too, about the note which I dictated. We shall think about it again when I return there in January. In the mean time, it is necessary that everyone should think about it from his or her own point of view.

I do not mind the permission which has been given to Santok to cook her meals in a separate kitchen. I have adopted a neutral attitude in this matter. I shall be satisfied if we do not go down further still. I understand the suggestion about going to Wardha too, and have agreed with it. I do not remember about

Calcutta, nor do I wish to. I shall, however, think about the matter when I go over there. I shall not let it happen that you are obliged to take the responsibility upon yourself.

The Ramachandra lift has tried our patience well enough. The *Gita* is almost finished. I intend to leave this place after I have completed it and dispatched the proofs from here.

Jawaharlal Nehru arrived today. He will be here for two days.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4164

304. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 18, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have been trying to come into close contact with Bhai Madhavji. I have formed a good opinion about the couple and have high hopes of them. They have been voluntarily observing complete *brahmacharya* for a year and a half. The desire for service has awakened in Madhavji for quite some years. He is full of enthusiasm. He is a capable businessman and we shall, therefore, be able to utilize his ability. I have advised him to understand the work of all the departments. My advice to you is that you should give him work so that he should at any rate become proficient in all the processes up to spinning. He will require agricultural work for at least some time daily. I also believe that he will be able to look after the store. And he is bound to know book-keeping. His wife is a fine woman, but how she acquits herself there the future alone will show.

Chandrakanta and her mother are getting ready. Now the mother, too, has agreed to take her meals in the common kitchen, so that there will be no problem of a separate kitchen for her and of paying a salary to her. I had a letter from Chandrakanta, which I am sending with this to be filed. I will send her mother's letter too.

I will leave this place on the 21st., 22-23 in Delhi and 24 in Lahore. Letters intended to reach me on 22-23 should be addressed C/o Lakshminarayan Gadodia. You should get this letter on

the 20th. Post letters on that date to Delhi, as also on the 21st. From the 22nd onwards, to Lahore.

Do not mind if Lilabehn has started cooking her meals in Budhabhai's house. I believe that Bhansali will certainly not stay on after he has recovered. Since Lilabehn has started cooking separately, I should not be surprised if he goes and lives in Budhabhai's house.

I did not see any letter from Ayodhyaprasad. Carry out what you have suggested about him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4165

305. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

WARDHA,
December 18, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I am glad that you have come home. Manilal will certainly go to Lahore. As for Sushila, Ramdas says in his letter that Ba desires that she may also be permitted to go. I am certainly not against her going. I have merely given advice. Ba believes that Sushila may wish to see the Congress session. If this is true and she wishes to go, she may do so provided Sita's health is all right and Sushila herself has regained her physical strength. In short, you two are no longer children; you are grown-up persons and free to decide for yourselves. That you nevertheless ask my permission is an act of courtesy on your part and a voluntary limitation of your freedom out of respect for me. I, therefore, wish only that you may do as you both like.

Whether Manilal ought to return within four months, we shall discuss when we meet.

I have decided to return to the Ashram before January 11.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4764

306. A MILITARY PROGRAMME[1]

George Joseph has been one of my dearest comrades. When I was having rest in Yeravda, he was editor of *Young India*. Before that at my instance he was editor of the now defunct *Independent*. He had sacrificed a lucrative practice for the sake of the country. He went to jail for the same cause. He is an earnest and honest worker. He is therefore entitled to a respectful hearing, the more so when such a man differs from you and rejecting the old recommends with the fervour of a convert the adoption of a new policy. George Joseph has done it. One of his old associates sends a cutting from a newspaper containing Joseph's enunciation of his new policy and marks it 'George Joseph's confession of faith'. Another man, an unknown admirer of George Joseph, copies out from the report the whole of his criticism of the khadi programme. He writes in a most distracted mood and insists that I must take notice of the remarks about khadi.

There is no cause for distraction, grief or alarm. It would be surprising, if, in a great national upheaval, we did not find men honestly recanting old views and enunciating new. Change is a condition of progress. An honest man cannot afford to observe mechanical consistency when the mind revolts against anything as an error. We must therefore patiently try to understand what George Joseph has to say and not hesitate to accept what appeals to our reason even though it may mean a sacrifice of some cherished ideal.

It is, I hope, in that spirit that I have endeavoured to study Joseph's speech. He condemns khadi, he is 'quite satisfied that the removal of untouchability is not primarily a problem of statesmanship'. His programme in one simple sentence is: 'Militarize India'. Here is an extract from the speech:

> We cannot all become soldiers. There is not enough room for us. But it should be possible for us to set about the idea of training about 5,000 men every year in this Presidency in urban units. The men will go to drill two or three times a week, go out to camp three weeks in the year. Such training should be made available not only for the students who are at college but also for men of sufficient social and educational

[1] Another article on the subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 29-12-1929 under the title "Khadi *v.* Khaki".

status, the educational standard being the .membership of the School Leaving Class. If you see in every street such people going about in khaki, there will be a new element in our life. This kind of training would make people to stand straight, to think straight and to speak straight. It will be a great enrichment of our life.

My experience teaches me differently. I have known men in khaki rolling in gutters instead of standing straight, I have seen a Dyer thinking crooked and speaking not straight but nonsense. I have known a commander-in-chief being unable to think at all, let alone thinking straight. Let those who are enamoured of military training have it by all means, but to suggest it 'as a new constructive programme' betrays impatience and hasty thinking. There is not much danger of 'the new programme' taking root in the Indian soil. Moreover it is against the new order of things that is coming into being even in the West which has grown weary of the war-god. The military spirit in the West bids fair to kill the very humanity in man and reduce him to the level of the beast. What is wanted and what India has, thank God, learnt in a measure undreamt of before is the spirit of unarmed resistance before which the bayonet runs to rust and gunpowder turns to dust. The vision that Joseph puts before us of an armed Government bending a minority to its will by a clatter of arms is a negation of the democratic spirit and progress. If that is the promise of the new programme, we have the armed coercion even now not indeed of a mere minority but of an overwhelming majority. What we want, I hope, is a Government not based on coercion even of a minority but on its conversion. If it is a change from white military rule to a brown, we hardly need make any fuss. At any rate the masses then do not count. They will be subject to the same spoliation as now if not even worse. When George Joseph has lived down his impatience, I know him to be too honest not to retrace his steps and become the fine democrat that to my great joy I had discovered him to be on the Madras beach in 1919.

Let us then turn to what he has to say about khadi:

As long as I was within the fold of the Congress, the only thing the constructive programme represented was khaddar, removal of 'untouchability', and in later years prohibition. Now I must frankly tell you that I have come deliberately to the conclusion that not one of these goes to the root of the fundamental need of this nation. Khaddar does not. I think it will not survive the creator of the movement, Gandhiji. I have come to that conclusion, because of the fundamental economic defect which is attached to khaddar. It costs far too much to produce and to

309. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 19, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I had a letter from Somabhai. Since you have made no reference to him, I infer that you have not read the letter. Let me know if what he has stated as facts are such. You will realize that many questions arise from what he has stated. Ask Surendra to write to me and tell me what he had said to Somabhai. It is but proper that I should not discuss anything relating to that letter till I have heard from you.

Dr. Mehta will probably land in Bombay on the 23rd. Write to Manilal Kothari about the kitchen and get it vacated and cleaned. I do not know where Manilal is at present. In any case I am sending from here a wire to him at his Wadhwan address. If the key of the kitchen is with you, make a list of his things and put them away in a safe place and then get the kitchen swept and cleaned.

Chandrakanta will start tomorrow and reach Ahmedabad on Sunday morning. She will be accompanied by her parents. Her father, too, seems to have the spirit of self-sacrifice in him. I have, therefore, suggested to him that he himself should accompany Chandrakanta to the Ashram, see the place for himself and live there for a few days, so that I may feel less worried on her account. The husband and the wife wish to have separate arrangements for their meals for the present. If the mother decides to stay in the Ashram for some time at least, she will certainly take her meals in the common kitchen. At present, lodge the husband and the wife in any vacant rooms in Budhabhai's house. Nanibehn is not there, nor Parvatibehn. Hence some rooms are bound to be vacant. The two may stay in them and cook their meals as they wish. Supply them provisions from the store against their names. Give them a bill if they ask for it. If they do not, keep the amount pending in the department's account, and consult me about it after I return.

Chandrakanta will of course stay in the women's wing. The parents are thinking of staying there till my return. Do not get confused because I thus give you new information about this in every letter. I have no time to narrate the whole case. If

I could do that, you would easily understand the indecision of this couple. I cannot say positively yet when Madhavji will come. If he decides to come after I have left this place, he himself will write to you and let you know the date.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4166

310. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

WARDHA,
December 20, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I cannot but feel extremely unhappy in refusing to accede to your request. But, frankly, I shall be quite out of place at such a meeting[1]. The very list of names frightened me. What place can I have in such a meeting, and what would I do there? Sir Purshottamdas or Sir Dinshaw Petit will certainly fill the place with honour. Personally, I would advise you to think of no other name.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4794. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

311. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

December 20, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. I had also expected you to give in it an account of the Bal Mandir and a description of the state of things there. May I expect them still?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, p. 6

[1] Condolence meeting on the addressee's father's death

312. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

WARDHA,
December 20, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have always been indifferent about Dattajayanti[1], etc. I am not moved by such things. But I do not feel repulsion towards such things either. I do not, however, wish that the public should come to know about the temple and that people from outside may even come to worship there, for I visualize the evil consequences which are likely to follow. I cannot easily imagine any beneficial results from such a development. Those in the Ashram who wish to use the temple for devotional purposes may do so, but I wish that we should not go further than that. Let Panditji also read this.

I, too, would have decided as you did about Premabehn. I missed mildness in your decision. It is desirable that we should not attend marriages. But we have not adopted a rule that no one may attend a marriage at any time. Of course, I do feel that we should not spend the Ashram money for such a visit and that we should dissuade those who would listen to us.

I have already written to you about Somabhai in my letter of yesterday. If he and Hasmukhrai have settled the matter between them, the problem is solved. If it is necessary to write to me further about this, do so.

I wrote to you about Chandrakanta yesterday. There is no question now of paying Rs. 25. If I like a certain idea from a distance, it does not follow that you or anybody else should approve of it. My view may be wrong. Now Kanta's parents are also accompanying her as guests. I have come to regard *Antyajas* and the common kitchen as two shields which protect us. I see every day that without them we would be blown up.

Send the sums mentioned by Chhaganlal Gandhi. They are earmarked for such purposes. A note about this is also filed in the office there. If we don't have a list of all such papers, we should have one, and on the page on which the account of an earmarked sum commences the conditions for its use should be

[1] Birth anniversary of Lord Dattatreya

mentioned, or the serial number of the document in which they are mentioned should be quoted. If that is done, anyone who takes charge of the work will be able to find the necessary information the moment it is required; our method of maintaining accounts should be thus clear.

If Kashinath is there, tell him that I could not follow what he says about his widowed sister. He may, however, consult Gangabehn and they two may decide about the matter as they think fit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4167

313. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

[On or after *December 20, 1929*][1]

PRIVATE SECRETARY
VICEROY'S CAMP

YOUR WIRE[2]. SHALL GLADLY WAIT ON HIS EXCELLENCY AS DESIRED MONDAY NEXT FOUR THIRTY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15587

[1] The addressee's telegram was dated December 20, 1929.

[2] It read: "His Excellency has received intimation that you along with Pandit Motilal Nehru Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru Mr. Patel Mr. Jinnah would be glad if invited to meet him and place him in possession of your views on his recent announcement. He would therefore be very pleased if [you] would come to see him at Viceroy's House, New Delhi at four thirty on afternoon of Monday December Twenty-third. Kindly confirm by telegram. His Excellency has been in communication with Mr. Patel who I understand is writing to you in this connection."

314. *TELEGRAM TO VITHALBHAI PATEL*

[On or after *December 20, 1929*][1]

PRESIDENT PATEL
NEW DELHI

YOUR WIRE. PRAY EXCUSE. SHALL EXPLAIN WHY I MAY NOT STAY WITH YOU.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15576

315. *TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

[On or after *December 20, 1929*]

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI
SURAT

EXPECT LETTER POSTED TODAY. GOD BE WITH US.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15576

316. *TELEGRAM TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA*

[On or after *December 20, 1929*]

GADODIA
DELHI

WILL THANKFULLY STAY WITH YOU PARTY DEVDAS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15576

[1] Presumably this was sent after Gandhiji's decision to meet the Viceroy; *vide* the preceding item. The drafts of this and the following three telegrams are found on the same sheet of paper.

317. TELEGRAM TO D. B. KALELKAR

[On or after *December 20, 1929*]

KAKASAHEB
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

YOU MAY ANNOUNCE CONFERENCE[1] DATES.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15576

318. TELEGRAM TO MANILAL KOTHARI

[On or after *December 20, 1929*][2]

MANILAL KOTHARI
JORAWA[R] NAGAR

DOCTOR MEHTA EXPECTED 23RD. KITCHEN SHOULD BE VACATED.

From a photostat: S.N. 15576

319. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

December 21, 1929

I have your letter. I never knew that in spite of your company Taramati would believe herself to be in prison. Moreover, the silent companions there—the natural scenery—make any company superfluous. But I was glad that all of you went there. More so because you all stayed there so long. So you may gladly come down at the end of January. I am leaving for Delhi today. Just now it is five o'clock in the morning. Have to meet the Viceroy. I am not going there with any hopes.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 97

[1] Presumably the All-India National Education Conference held on January 13, 1930.

[2] Drafted on the reverse of the sheet containing the drafts of the preceding four telegrams; *vide* also pp. 296-7.

320. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

ON THE TRAIN,
December 21, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have your letter. The get-up of *Ashram Samachar* is fairly good. Very probably, I know the stuff on which you have printed it. I shall be able to tell when I see it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9492

321. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

December 21, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I am writing this reply in the train which is carrying me to Delhi. I have understood your reasons. I will, therefore, say nothing for the present. If I get some peace, I will go deeper into the matter in January. The women's class must be going on very well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p. 56

322. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR FARMERS?

A young man who has mentioned his name and wishes to see me but has forgotten to give his address writes:[1]

The desire expressed by the father of this young man is shared by many other parents today. Those young men who have been infused with patriotism and who are prepared to undergo any amount of hardship on account of this sentiment will certainly not like to serve the Government or a State after

[1] The letter is not translated here.

graduation. Parents should accept this fact. They should give up their insistence upon forcibly guiding along boys and girls who have reached the age of maturity, and young men like the one who has posed the above question should, with humility but with equal firmness, place their ideas before their parents and put them into practice. However, those who are ready to do so should also be prepared to renounce their parents' wealth. A son or daughter who is looking forward to receiving, or is actually receiving, an inheritance from his or her father has no right to disregard his or her parents' wishes. The question as to what should be done about the poor people or the farmers now takes a subordinate place. Anyone who has the strength to give up politely and for the sake of serving the country the shelter afforded by his father will find hundreds of ways of serving the poor farmers. One can make a beginning by living like a farmer. This naturally suggests to me the spinning-wheel. But to whomsoever it does not, may not start serving through the spinning-wheel. If he goes and settles down in any village, a number of ways of serving it in accordance with his capacity will strike him. If, however, anyone poses the question as to what is to be done there for the sake of one's livelihood, the answer to it is that all such persons should join an institution like the Charkha Sangh, accept an adequate salary and work there. All readers of *Navajivan* are aware of the fact that hundreds of young men are working in this manner at present. Hence the way is clear for all those who truly wish to serve. For all those who have the enthusiasm to serve, but not the training to do so, there are available today means whereby they can acquire this knowledge. However, very often it is found that there is not the same amount of understanding as the fervour that is found behind the patriotic urge. Some young men believe that this fervour is by itself sufficient. However, just as vapour without control is useless or sometimes proves harmful, similarly, such thoughtless fervour is also futile and may even at times prove harmful. Those young men who wish to serve the farmers should possess a great deal of patience, self-confidence, physical strength, capacity to withstand heat, cold, etc., and the willingness to get training.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-12-1929

323. *WOMEN AND ORNAMENTS*

I have never been able to understand our rajas' and maharajas' fondness for ornaments. Or I may say that the rajas heavily laden with jewellery have reminded me of women. I do not wish to malign women by comparing the rajas with them. Even women would not appear beautiful to me if they looked like men. Every person looks well in his or her rightful place and can make a useful contribution only by remaining there. He loses his status if he tries to go above it and we also say that he does likewise if he attempts to climb down from it. This is what is meant when it is said that better one's duty bereft of merit, than another's well performed.[1] However, after having spoken of the ornaments of the rajas, I wish to speak of those of women. The former may not even be reading *Navajivan*. Even if they do, they will not pause to ponder over such matters. And even if they wish to do so, the Emperor will not permit it. These vassals derive their lustre from the latter. They are not self-luminous; if they give up their ornaments, perhaps they may also have to give up their thrones. They themselves say that it will be regarded as an insult to the Emperor if they do not deck themselves with ornaments on State occasions, and the Emperor will be displeased with them. Whether they desire it or not, they have no alternative but to possess and wear expensive ornaments and attend such functions. Hence there is no point in raising at present the question of the rajas. The planets will automatically find their proper places once the sun finds its own. These rajas are like the planets. They do not at present have any independent powers of doing good or evil. They can react independently to what they are told only when they can escape from the Emperor's clutches or free themselves from his influence.

But what about women? The uplift of women is one of the principal aims of running *Navajivan*. During my tour of the U.P., I was very much irritated at the sight of the ornaments worn by rich and poor women alike. At that very time, I read Mr. Brayne's book. I was largely convinced by his criticism of ornaments. He has held the menfolk too responsible for this fondness for ornaments. I believe that men are or were responsible for this;

[1] *Bhagavad Gita,* III. 35

their reponsibility may now have decreased, but the women's responsibility for this fondness is no less. I was unable to convince many women to give up their ornaments.

How and whence did women develop this fondness? I do not know its history, hence I have only made some conjectures. The ornaments which women wear on their hands and feet are a sign of their bondage. Some of the ornaments worn on the feet are so heavy that a woman cannot walk fast, let alone run. Some women wear such heavy ornaments on their arms that they prevent them from fully utilizing the latter. Hence I regard these ornaments as fetters on the hands and feet. I have found that by means of the ornaments which are worn by piercing the nose and ears, the men lead the women as they wish. Even a child, by firmly taking hold of a nose or ear ornament of a woman, can render the latter helpless. Hence I have looked upon these principal ornaments as mere symbols of slavery.

I have found even the designs of these ancient ornaments ugly. I have beheld no true art in them. I have seen and known them as objects which harbour dirt. A woman who is loaded with ancient ornaments on her hands, feet, ears, nose and hair cannot even keep these parts of her body clean. I have seen layers of dirt collected on those parts. Many of these ornaments are not even removable every day. When some women gave me their heavy anklets and bangles, they had to call in a goldsmith to have these removed from their hands and feet. When these were taken out, they left a good band of dirt on the hands and ankles, and the designs carved on the ornaments were full of layers of dirt. These women too felt as if they were rid of an age-old burden.

The modern woman is oblivious of this origin of ornaments and, regarding them as objects which beautify her gets delicate ones made for her. She has them made in such a way that they can be readily worn and removed and if she happens to be very wealthy, she has them made of diamonds and pearls instead of gold and silver. They may gather less dirt, it may well be the case that they are regarded artistic, but they have no utilitarian value and their capacity to beautify is also imaginary. Women of other countries would not wear the ornaments worn by our women. Their idea of adorning themsleves is different. Ideas of adornment and artistic beauty vary from one country to another; hence we know that in such matters we have no absolute standards of beauty or art.

Why is it then that many reasonable, educated women still continue to be fond of ornaments? On considering the matter, it

seems that as in other matters, here too tradition reigns supreme. We do not find reasons for all our actions and do not even stop to consider whether they are proper or otherwise. We do them because it is customary to do so and later we like them independently. This is called thoughtless life.

However, why should all those women who are awakened, who have started thinking for themselves, who wish to serve the country, who are taking or wish to take part in the *yajna* of swaraj, not exercise their discretion with regard to ornaments, etc.?

If the origin of ornaments is what I have imagined it to be, they are fit to be renounced, however light or beautiful they may be. Fetters, though made of gold, diamonds or pearls, are fetters only. Whether in a small dark room or in a palace, men and women imprisoned in either will be regarded as prisoners only.

Moreover, wherein lies the beauty of a woman? Does it lie in her ornaments, her mannerisms, her new clothes which she changes daily, or in her heart, thought and action? The cobra which has a precious stone on its hood has poison in its fangs. Hence, despite the fact that it wears a crown of precious stone, it is not considered worthy of *darshan* or of being embraced. If a woman realizes that this 'artistic device' leads to the downfall of countless men, why should she garner these ornaments although they may possess any amount of artistic value? This is not a matter of individual freedom, nor is it a question of the rights of an individual; it is merely a wilful act and hence fit to be renounced, because it involves cruelty. It is the dharma of every thoughtful and compassionate man and woman to see what effect his or her actions have on others and to desist from them if they are not otherwise proved to be useful and produce a harmful effect.

Finally, in this poverty-stricken land, where the average daily income of a person is seven pice or at the most eight pice, who has the right to wear even the lightest of rings? A thoughtful woman who moreover wishes to serve her country, cannot ever touch ornaments. Looking at it from the economic standpoint, the gold and silver that we lock up in making ornaments causes threefold harm to the country. The first harm is that where there is a shortage of food, we increase it by wearing ornaments. It should be borne in mind that our average daily income is seven or eight pice. As those whose daily income is a thousand rupees are also included in these calculations, even if we leave the destitutes aside and take into account only the poorer classes, their income

would amount to one or two pice. Hence the amount spent on jewellery is something that we have taken away from the poor. The second is that these ornaments do not yield any interest, hence we prevent an increase in the national wealth to that extent. The third is that a large portion of these ornaments finally wears off or, in other words, that amount of wealth is lost for ever. Just as if an individual throws away some of the gold bars in his possession into the ocean, his wealth will decrease to that extent, almost the same can be said of a woman who invests her money in ornaments. I use the word "almost", as some ornaments are sold in straitened circumstances and hence they may be regarded as having been put to some use. The loss that they have suffered through wear and tear before their sale is of course there; moreover, anyone who buys them can never recover their original value when reselling them, and the loss suffered thereby is also there. Therefore, any woman who wishes to keep aside ornaments as her own property or as property which may be useful in times of distress should put their equivalent in cash in her name; either her parents or her partents-in-law should open an account in a bank and give her the pass-book. Such times may well be far off. However, if thoughtful women, who wish to render service, give up their love of ornaments, I would regard this article as having fully served its purpose at least for the time being.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-12-1929

324. MY NOTES

THE LATE JAIKRISHNA INDRAJI

A reader of *Navajivan* writes:[1]

I had become acquainted with Sjt. Jaikrishna in Porbandar and that very time I was astonished by his diligence in trying to excel himself in his own field and by his simplicity which matched his diligence. In trying to discover new plants, he had often roamed the hills of Barda and as a result of his vast experience, he had also written a beautiful book. In his own house, too, he had built up a collection which included many botanical specimens and he showed it with pride to anyone who visited him. He

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had informed Gandhiji of the death of Jaikrishna Indraji.

thought of nothing but of making discoveries in the field of botany. He felt his spiritual well-being in this world as well as the next to lie in this only. Hence I always regarded him as an ideal student. During my tour of Kutch[1], I renewed my acquaintance with him. His passion for planting new trees increased rather than decreased with advancing age. Men with such single-minded devotion to their subject are indeed rare. Sjt. Jaikrishna Indraji was one of them. He has now left us after fulfilling his duty; hence his soul is of course at peace. Let us all emulate his single-mindedness and his self-confidence.

Labour and Capital

Nowadays labour and capital have formed two distinct camps and it is found that the two are generally opposed to each other. A sect has arisen in the world which believes that the capitalist class should not exist at all, or that everyone should belong to the class of owners. In my opinion, such a state of affairs will never come about in the world. What is possible, and what should happen, is that instead of mutual distrust and enmity, there should be trust and love between them. Just as a sect has arisen which aims at destroying the capitalists, today in the West another has arisen which believes that it is possible to create trust and love between the two. If such a situation is possible, it is primarily the responsibility of the capitalists to bring it about. This is so not only because theirs is the stronger side, but also because it is their class which will have to make the requisite sacrifices. Labour has no privileges on its side, or the only privilege that it does enjoy is the one to feel aggrieved, that is to say, to offer satyagraha. That, however, is not the special privilege of labour. All human beings enjoy it. Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla had recently made a speech in Sholapur[2] in which he has accepted the fact that capitalists should make this type of sacrifice. In it, he had clearly stated that it was against the dharma of the mill-owners to misuse or make anything in order to earn profits, that their dharma was to produce goods and sell them only in order to serve and benefit the public. And he has also expressed the view that if mill-owners do not do so, they cannot continue to survive in the long run. If all mill-owners act in this manner, all disputes will be banished and an atmosphere of trust will be created between them and the labourers and along with it,

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXVIII.
[2] *Vide* p. 294.

the two can be united by a bond of love. In the language of the old times, this is known as conduct in accordance with one's dharma and in modern language it is known as just conduct. While judging the matter by these very standards, Sjt. Ghanshyamdas has also expressed the opinion that they should not abandon what is important in order to reap a minor benefit or, in other words, if the temptation arises to levy an import duty on foreign cloth other than that manufactured in Britain, they should not yield to it. Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla had delivered this speech as President before the business community of Sholapur; and it has not been reported that anyone raised any objections to it. However, it is one thing not to object to such ideas, and quite another to put them into practice. What is essential is to act in accordance with such ideas, because even the best of ideas have ultimately no value if they are not put into practice.

'Hajam' or 'Valand'?

A gentleman from Palitana writes:[1]

The contemptible implication underlying the word *hajam* is actually directed towards that profession. This word is used with reference to persons whose profession is to shave or cut the hair. If this word is not approved of, I shall only use the word '*Valand*' in *Navajivan*. However, it is my confirmed opinion that this is no remedy for the basic problem. The real remedy consists in ending the prejudice against those professions which are essential but are concerned with the removal of dirt. Thereafter, we can remain indifferent to names that may be used to indicate them. What can we do when 'a boy fondly named Hari dies at an early age'? We should not, therefore, look upon the word Hari with contempt. The prestige of words increases or diminishes in the world with that of persons and it will continue to do so.

In this age of reforms, everyone has learnt to shave himself and the sting in the barber's profession will easily disappear—it has already half disappeared. For me, words like *Valand*, Bhangi Chamar, Dhed, etc., have no repugnance. I myself do the work of all those professions and inspire others to do so and I find pleasure in it. My advice to those of my brothers who follow the above professions is that they should disregard the contempt

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji to use *Valand* instead of *hajam* to denote a barber because the latter word had become a term of contempt.

that society has for these professions, that they should become adepts in their trades, purify their own thoughts and actions and enhance their own prestige as well as that of their trade. Although I can shave myself well, through these very same motives, I avail myself of the services of a barber clad in khadi wherever I happen to find one and try to lead him to do national service. As we wish to win swaraj which is untainted, it is necessary that we should take the help of all those who are engaged in such professions and also try to improve their lot. We have had Chamars, weavers, cobblers and Dheds, etc., among us who had attained the highest knowledge and had become *bhaktas*. Should it then be surprising if one of them, by virtue of the strength of his services, becomes the President of the State? Persons who follow such a profession can maintain the highest degree of integrity in their conduct and can also sharpen their intellect. The sorry part of the story is that when persons who practise such trades happen to be intelligent individuals, they are ashamed of their professions and finally give them up. The President of my imagination will be one who while earning a livelihood by practising a barber's or a cobbler's profession, will also be guiding the ship of the State. It is possible that because of the burden of national work he will be unable to ply his trade regularly but that is a different question.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-12-1929

325. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

DELHI,
December 23, 1929

SISTERS,

I am writing this in Delhi after the morning prayers. It is severe cold, so severe that Mirabehn's feet have become stiff. She has slipped back into bed and is lying near me. Lahore, of course, is even colder than Delhi.

But I do not wish to write to you about the cold. I wish to write about our duties. Just now I shall say only this, that those among you who are thinking about their selfish desires are bound to fall. Those who devote themselves to their duty, when can they have the time to fall? It has always been my experience that those who fell had remained, or become, indifferent to truth.

A sinful act requires the cover of darkness. It is always done in secret. We certainly see persons who have abandoned all sense of shame and act sinfully in the open. There are even people who regard sin as virtue. We are not talking about them. One reason why progress in many of our activities is held up is the selfishness I have mentioned above. In that selfishness lies the danger of our fall and that of society. Think over this, fix your mind on it and let each one examine her life in the light of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3712

326. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

DELHI,
Silence Day, December 23, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter.

Mahadev is here. Vallabhbhai, too, is here.

You were right in sending Henry's[1] wire by post. In such matters, you may decide for yourself and do what you think best. No one rule can be laid down which can be followed in all cases. Our aim should always be to save money.

Your reply to Manilal Kothari was correct.

Budhabhai is our neighbour. I intervened in his affair. If, now, we do not accept the deposit, our service will remain incomplete. The burden on us will not be much. If Budhabhai and Nanibehn are innocent, we should keep the money. If they are guilty, we cannot but know that by this means. In this complex world, who can say which man or woman is pure and which impure? To me it seems our clear duty to accept the deposit and to maintain relations with both. It is not we who have to provide a room to Nanibehn. She is to be given a room in Budhabhai's house. If she comes and lives in the Ashram, she will of course live as the other women do. More about this when we meet.

If the Thana land can be disposed of for Rs. 9,000, nothing will be better than that. Pyarali separated from us from Wardha. Write to him at his Bombay address.

[1] Polak

We have to meet the Viceroy at 4.30.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4168

327. SPEECH AT SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE SOCIETY, LAHORE

December 24, 1929

Mahatmaji speaking on the occasion[1] said he considered it a privilege that immediately on his entry into Lahore, he should be called upon to perform the opening ceremony of the Lajpat Rai Hall.

He said he did not like to say many words of praise about Lalaji and his Society because they were well known to all Punjabis. He was a Bania and he had àlways acted Bania-like. From the report read by Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon he found that the full amount of five lakhs appeal for the Lalaji Memorial Fund by Pandit Malayiya, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Birla had not been subscribed yet. He hoped the Punjabis would subscribe the amount remaining to be realized.

He knew fully well the capacity of the Punjabis for public work but he had not been able fully to realize the Punjabis' love for Lalaji, because the Punjabis, in the midst of whom Lalaji lived and died, had not yet paid their due share towards this appeal. He hoped the full amount would be subscribed by the people of the Punjab before the end of the present year and he would be relieved of the anxiety on that account.

He had tried his best to collect as much money as possible during his tours in different parts of India, but he had not been able to collect the total amount. He appealed to all men and women present at the gathering to give him as much money as they could for the Lalaji Memorial Fund.

He said he had a mind to come to the Punjab long before, but as the Congress had been invited in the Punjab and Congressmen were busy raising subscriptions for Congress, he postponed his visit.

Mahatmaji said he had heard that Punjabi women were very fond of silk and ornaments, that they used many foreign articles and foreign scented oils. This pained him much. He said until India got swaraj no woman should wear ornaments and whatever ornaments they had they should hand them over to him.

Addressing the assembled men, Mahatmaji said they always raised loud shouts of *Vandemataram* but when they were asked to do solid work they re-

[1] Anniversary celebrations of the Society

fused to do it. He had been repeatedly asking them to wear khaddar, but they would not wear it. He asked them to save all their money by curtailing useless expenditure and give it to him.

Mahatmaji then asked the volunteers to go round the men and women sitting at the meeting and collect money for the fund. . . .

Mahatmaji congratulated all on their response to his appeal. He said they had, by their action, fulfilled his hopes. He was satisfied with what he had collected.

The Hindustan Times, 26-12-1929

328. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA SUPPRESSED CLASSES CONFERENCE, LAHORE

December 24, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi while delivering his presidential address at the Suppressed Classes Conference delcared:

Freedom can never be attained by exploding bombs on an innocent man. I regard it as a most outrageous crime.

He said no other power on earth could prove a barrier against the attainment of freedom, but our own weaknesses were our greatest enemy. Continuing, Mahatmaji urged the untouchables to remove all social evils, to give up drink and meat of dead animals. He laid stress on sanitation, education, etc. He paid a tribute to *Rishi* Balmiki, their ancestor and author of the *Ramayana*, and exhorted the untouchables to follow him.

Referring to the question of temple-entry, Mahatma Gandhi said entering temples by force was not satyagraha. They should learn satyagraha from him. He cited the example of the satyagraha at Vykom in South India five years back.[1] He said compulsion whether by the British or by Indians was a crime. They must not compel high caste people for temple-entry. He said they could not see God by force. God was present within their hearts and not in temples and mosques. He advised the untouchables patiently to undergo sufferings and pray that high caste cruelty may come to an end.

Continuing, Mahatmaji said a large section of people in India had resolved to put an end to untouchability under the lead of the Congress Anti-untouchability Committee under the guidance of Pandit Malaviya and Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj. If they could not remove untouchability and attain real Hindu-Muslim unity, swaraj for the masses could not be attained. Concluding, he declared:

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXVI.

fore students in these pages, it is worth while reiterating and perhaps more pointedly the scheme adumbrated before.

The writers of the letter want to know what they may do after finishing their studies. I want to tell them that the grown-up students and therefore all college students should begin village work even whilst they are studying. Here is a scheme for such part time workers.

The students should devote the whole of their vacation to village service. To this end, instead of taking their walks along beaten paths, they should walk to the villages within easy reach of their institutions and study the condition of the village folk and befriend them. This habit will bring them in contact with the villagers who, when the students actually go to stay in their midst, will by reason of the previous occasional contact receive them as friends rather than as strangers to be looked upon with suspicion. During the long vacation the students will stay in the villages and offer to conduct classes for adults and to teach the rules of sanitation to the villagers and attend to the ordinary cases of illness. They will also introduce the spinning-wheel amongst them and teach them the use of every spare minute. In order that this may be done students and teachers will have to revise their ideas of the uses of vacation. Often do thoughtless teachers prescribe lessons to be done during the vacation. This in my opinion is in any case a vicious habit. Vacation is just the period when students' minds should be free from the routine work and be left free for self-help and original development. The village work I have mentioned is easily the best form of recreation and light instruction. It is obviously the best preparation for dedication to exclusive village service after finishing the studies.

The scheme for full village service does not now need to be elaborately described. Whatever was done during the vacation has now to be put on a permanent footing. The villagers will also be prepared for a fuller response. The village life has to be touched at all points, the economic, the hygienic, the social and the political. The immediate solution of the economic distress is undoubtedly the wheel in the vast majority of cases. It at once adds to the income of the villagers and keeps them from mischief. The hygienic includes insanitation and disease. Here the student is expected to work with his own body and labour to dig trenches for burying excreta and other refuse and turning them into manure, for cleaning wells and tanks, for building easy embankments, removing rubbish and generally to make the villages more habitable. The village worker has also to touch the social side

and gently persuade the people to give up bad customs and bad habits, such as untouchability, infant marriages, unequal matches, drink and drug evil and many local superstitions. Lastly comes the political part. Here the worker will study the political grievances of the villagers and teach them the dignity of freedom, self-reliance and self-help in everything. This makes in my opinion complete adult education. But this does not complete the task of the village worker. He must take care and charge of the little ones and begin their instruction and carry on a night school for adults. This literary training is but part of a whole education course and only a means to the larger end described above.

I claim that the equipment for this service is a large heart and a character above suspicion. Given these two conditions every other needed qualification is bound to follow.

The last question is that of bread and butter. A labourer is worthy of his hire. The incoming president is organizing a national provincial service. The All-India Spinners' Association is a growing and stable organization. It furnishes young men with character an illimitable field for service. A living wage is assured. Beyond that there is no money in it. You cannot serve both self and country. Service of self is strictly limited by that of the country and hence excludes a living beyond the means of this absolutely poor country. To serve our villages is to establish swaraj. Everything else is but an idle dream.

Young India, 26-12-1929

331. THAT CRUEL CUSTOM

Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande writes as follows[1] on the practice of animal sacrifice prevalent in Karnatak and reported in these columns:[2]

How I wish public opinion moved fast enough to stop this inhumanity altogether and now! How can we who value freedom deny it to our fellow creatures and practise unthinkable cruelties on them and that too in the name of religion?

Young India, 26-12-1929

[1] The letter is not reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* p. 197.

332. 'GOANS'

The editor of the *Voice*, a Goan organ, writes:[1]

I wish the editor of the *Voice* had imagination enough to know that if we are worth our salt, the India of the future will not be British but Indian. British India is a contradiction in terms. India is the name of the country where Indians live. But for the slave habit which we have never questioned, we would refuse to use any such term as British or other India. The India of the future will be India under swaraj, not Britain. In India under swaraj 'Goans' will pride themselves in being called Indians. Why should they even now call themselves 'Goans' when they are born in India? India will not always remain vivisected into British, Portuguese, French, etc., but will be one country although its parts may be under different systems of government. In any event India free cannot deny freedom to any son of the soil. It gives me both pain and surprise when I find people feeling anxious about their future under a freed India. For me an India which does not guarantee freedom to the lowliest of those born not merely within an artificial boundary, but within its natural boundary is not free India. Our fear paralyses our thinking powers, or we should at once know that freedom means a state at any rate somewhat better than the present for every honest man or woman. It is exploiters, money-grabbers, pirates and the like who have to fear the advent of freedom.

Young India, 26-12-1929

333. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Although all people theoretically admit that Hindi alone can be the national language, yet the requisite love for the Hindi language is not apparent among young men of the provinces where the mother tongue is Hindi. Whatever literature is being published in Hindi is mostly translation. If, however, some original piece does come out it is found to be insignificant. It might be argued

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had enquired about the status of Goans in "the British India of the future".

that a Rabindranath is not born every day and Tulsidas is one among millions. Nevertheless, all of us can at least create a climate for the advent of poets like Tulsidas and Rabindranath, namely, a sincere zeal among young men. As their devotion to Hindi grows so would Hindi pervade the environment, leading to a flowering of a few genuine poets as well.

Today neither the fervour nor the endeavour is manifest in the language of the young men having Hindi as their mother tongue. The grammatical errors occurring in the Hindi of the young men of U.P. and Bihar are not at all to be seen among the Bengalis and Maharashtrians. No doubt the national language is being propagated in provinces like Madras, etc.; but I have seen that Hindi teachers are not easily available. They are not energetic and their capacity for self-sacrifice is very limited. There ought to be innumerable young men ready to dedicate themselves exclusively to the propagation of Hindi; but I have not come across such persons, if any. Undoubtedly young men are available who are eager to serve at subsistence wages, but they are not equipped to teach Hindi.

If young men will it, this shortcoming can be overcome. With the initiative of a single young man this work can make progress. If one loses heart and rests on one's oars in face of a distressing situation in a certain field, the situation deteriorates further. It is the duty of a devoted person to try to relieve the distress without delay and not sit with folded hands fearing obstacles on the way. Every school should have an association for the promotion of Hindi. It would be the duty of such associations to make progressive use of Hindi in all fields, to evolve new technical words, never to use a foreign language in politics, etc., to make a sound study of abstruse books, to provide Hindi teachers wherever necessary and to organize volunteer Hindi teachers for honorary work, etc. Even if a single young man in every school is fired with this zeal he will not stay inert but will sprout into an association and will induce his fellow-students to join it. The only way to keep up the awakening among the young men today is for them to utilize every moment of their lives for some sort of social service.

It is to be noted that in this article Hindi also means Hindustani. To me a language which deliberately discards Arabic and Persian words is not Hindi.

[Form Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 26-12-1929

334. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR A.I.C.C., LAHORE[1]

[*December 26, 1929*][2]

1. This Congress deplores the bomb outrage perpetrated on the Viceregal train and warns those who believe in violent activities that such action is not only contrary to the creed of the Congress but results in harm being done to the national cause, and congratulates His Excellency the Viceroy, Lady Irwin and the nation on the fortunate and narrow escape Their Excellencies and party had on that occasion.

2. This Congress, whilst endorsing the action of the Working Committee in connection with the Manifesto signed by party leaders, including Congressmen, in connection with the Viceregal announcement of 31st October relating to Dominion Status and appreciating the efforts of His Excellency the Viceroy towards peaceful settlement of the national movement for swaraj and having considered the result of the meeting between the Viceroy and Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference, and, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress last year, declares that swaraj in Congress creed shall mean complete independence; and therefore, further declares the Nehru Scheme of Dominion Status to have lapsed and hopes that, now that the communal question drops out of the purview of the Congress, all parties in the Congress will devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence, and hopes also that those whom the tentative solution of the communal problem suggested in the Nehru Report has prevented from joining the Congress or actuated them to abstain from it, will now join or rejoin the Congress and zealously prosecute the common goal, and as a preliminary step towards organizing the campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy consistent with the change of the creed, declares complete boycott of

[1] According to the Free Press of India, the resolutions were circulated among the Congress Working Committee members for consideration. Gandhiji drafted the resolutions in consultation with Motilal Nehru and other leaders.

[2] The report is date-lined "Lahore, December 26, 1929".

Central and provincial legislatures and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in future elections, and calls upon the present members of the legislatures to tender their resignations and also calls upon the nation to concentrate attention upon the constructive programme of the Congress and authorizes the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch the programme of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

3. This Congress congratulates the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, the Anti-Untouchability Committee and the Prohibition Committee on the vigorous prosecution of programmes entrusted to them, but notes with regret that the response from the nation has not been as adequate as the Congress had a right to expect. The experience gained by these Committees and by the All-India Spinners' Association show that far more effective work becomes possible through autonomous organizations created for specific activities and this Congress, therefore, hereby declares the foregoing Committees to be permanent, with complete autonomy and without any control or interference from the Congress and with powers to add to their number, to frame their respective constitutions and to raise funds, provided, however, that Congress reserves to itself full authority to disown or to disaffiliate any of these bodies when and if they appear to the Congress to be acting contrary to national interest.

4. In order that the Congress may become a swift-moving and more efficient organization, it has become necessary to separate its spectacular, as distinguished from its practical and businesslike function, and to make it a more compact body, the Congress hereby resolves to reduce the number of delegates to under 1,000 and the A.I.C.C. to under 100, and hereby authorizes the A.I.C.C. to incorporate the necessary changes in the constitution and to make the necessary redistribution.

5. Inasmuch as the annual Exhibition in connection with the Congress is intended to be predominantly and progressively of an educative character and to further the programme of the boycott of foreign cloth through khaddar, this Congress authorizes and appoints a permanent Committee, composed of, or alternatively the A.I.S.A. with powers to co-opt local men to manage and conduct the whole of Exhibition and to raise funds for the purpose.

6. Inasmuch as the Congress is intended to be representative of the poor masses and inasmuch as holding of the Congress at the end of December involves very considerable expense to the poor

people in providing for extra clothing for themselves and is otherwise inconvenient to them, the date of the Congress session is hereby altered to February or after, according to the convenience of the province concerned.

7. This Congress wholeheartedly endorses the idea propagated by the President of organizing Provincial National Services, and advises all provinces to initiate such services and to that end appoints permanent committees, with autonomous powers in the manner indicated in Resolution 3 regarding Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee and other committees.

The Hindustan Times, 28-12-1929

335. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

LAHORE,
December 26, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have kept your letters for replying to them. Having some free time now, I am dictating this. Your argument against my suggestion regarding the use of Budhabhai's house appeals to me. It is correct. You have done right in lodging Chandrakanta's parents in the room adjoining Valjibhai's.

Our ideal, of course, is that a husband and wife should, having overcome desire, live either separately or together for the sake of service and adopt a mode of life which suits the nature of the work, exactly as two friends may do. But so long as such relationship has not been cultivated and the two can save themselves from the power of passion only with great difficulty, it is best—and it is a duty—to live separately. I think this answers all your questions. If you think, however, that any point is left out, please write to me.

Bhansali's idea certainly seems erroneous. But we tolerate it because he is a fine man, is frank of heart and says what he believes. He lives as our co-worker, and, moreover, is at present attacked by a disease. We should, therefore, tolerate him as long as we can.

I am not bound to Budhabhai by any promise. But it was I who drew him to the Ashram kitchen. I was happy when he said that he had taken a vow to have his meals in the Ashram kitchen for one year and told him that it was a good idea. This is all the binding there is on my part. But I don't look upon the

thing in the nature of a binding. If he accepts my advice and goes a step further in the same direction, I would welcome it. This should not be interpreted to mean that I have bound myself by any promise. If, therefore, you and the managing committee come to an independent decision, I will get it accepted.

The consideration in favour of my view is that I have regarded . . . bhai[1] and . . . behn[2] as innocent, and still regard them so. Even if my belief is erroneous, I can discover my error only by taking their innocence for granted. If, however, my action has not produced a good effect on others in the Ashram, you should do what they think proper. For, a group that harbours suspicion about a person will not accept him. That is, they cannot behave frankly towards him. But this raises another issue, namely, if I believe a person to be innocent and you or others do not agree with me, they should not respect my wishes in regard to that person. It is morally wrong, untruthful, to respect them. I, on the other hand, can keep aside my own view in the matter and act upon the view of the group. I have done so in the past, and that is what duty requires. This raises no question of principle. It is a question of our experience, of our likes and dislikes or of error of judgment. If all the others regard the two as innocent, it becomes our duty as neighbours to accept both. If you have not followed this whole argument, note it among the points to be discussed with me.

It is very cold here. I believe that it would have been better if some of those who have come had not done so. No one should have come besides those whom duty required to come.

I believe that I shall be able to return there earlier than I had expected. The necessity of having to stay here after the Congress has disappeared by itself. Do not, therefore, be surprised if I leave on the 30th.

According to me, we need do nothing about Mahadev. He will live on the same terms with us as at present. I am trying to arrange that he should live in the Ashram itself. I will write about other things if I get time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4169

[1] & [2] The names have been omitted.

336. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.[1]

LAHORE,
December 27, 1929

The first part of the resolution deals with the Delhi Manifesto[2] and it is based on political necessity, or wisdom as you may choose to call it. I and Pandit Nehru tried to get Dominion Status for the country and I must confess in spite of the best possible efforts we have been unsuccessful. I would like to mention one thing in this connection. I do not think the Viceroy is to blame in any way for this failure. We must praise his efforts to come to some agreement. But considering his point of view, I cannot lay any blame upon him. He was very courteous all through the interview we had with him and his manners were attended with sweetness. After all that has happened, I must say that no good can be expected of the Congress being represented in the Round Table Conference. So thinking about the question from all its aspects, we feel that no good can be had for the country by the Congress sending representatives to the Round Table Conference. I hope there will be no amendment to this part of the resolution.

The second part of the resolution is regarding the change of creed of the Congress. This again is nothing but the logical conclusion of the resolution passed in the Calcutta Congress last year.[3] The Madras Congress[4] had set up the ideal of swaraj within the Empire if possible and without it if necessary. And by the exigencies of circumstances, we are now compelled to declare that the Congress wants complete independence and fixes it as its "swaraj". The Madras Congress did not actually change the objective of the Congress. The Calcutta Congress too did not take up definitely any attitude in regard to this matter. But now we are going to change our objective into definite form of complete independence.

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindi on the resolution on complete independence; *vide* Resolution 2, pp. 320-1.

[2] *Vide* pp. 80-1.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 307-10.

[4] In 1927

Today, I do not want to say swaraj within Empire is possible at all, and we say clearly that swaraj means complete independence.

The third part of the resolution deals with how to work up this new creed of complete independence. The first step as suggested by the resolution is for boycott of legislatures and local bodies, or in other words we want that the legislatures both provincial and central should be boycotted by Congressmen. Not only that, the Congress further wants the boycott of local bodies such as municipalities, local boards, etc. It is no doubt a great step. But for the attainment of that great ideal of complete independence, we must have to take up such rather drastic steps. We must be now prepared for great struggles ahead. We must cease to have any more internal difference and dissensions. Another thing I want to make clear before you. Now that the Nehru Report on the line of Dominion Status will be declared to have lapsed, there cannot and should not be any further fighting over it and I hope the Sikhs and Muslims and all other sections who had one or other grievances against the Nehru Report will see no objection to join the Congress and unite within its fold for the battle of independence. Even if you have got unavoidable dissensions, still we should act unitedly within the Congress. If Mussalmans cut the throats of Hindus let them cut it. But the consolation there must be, that we have got freedom. Or if the Sikhs have got any quarrel either with the Hindus or Mussalmans, let them sink all such differences and unite within the Congress.

I never thought of going to the legislatures and I am glad that the same feelings are being entertained by other leaders regarding these legislative bodies. Now it is being widely felt that no good can be brought to the country by taking part in them and today we want to decide to leave them. As regards municipalities and local bodies, I should like to say that the desired amount of good cannot also be had from these institutions, however self-governing they might be characterized. For example, I may mention that our President did yeoman service in the Allahabad Municipality. But at last he felt disgusted with it and left it. So, Babu Rajendra Prasad did much in the Patna Municipality and he too was disgusted in the long run and left it. If we want independence for the country, if we sincerely desire to have independence, we cannot afford to go inside these institutions which cause such distraction of our energy.

Therefore we should now have no hesitation in deciding that no longer do we want to go to the legislatures and local bodies.

It is clear that the non-payment of taxes is the final stage of the national fight and I admit we have not reached it. It is also clear that either you must do this work or that. Either you must choose to go to the councils and local bodies and stop to talk of civil disobedience or you must choose to boycott those places and concentrate all your energy for civil disobedience. There is no good in saying that both these things can be done side by side. If you like to take part in the legislatures and local bodies, I must frankly tell you that civil disobedience is an impossibility. Civil disobedience undoubtedly requires much discipline, much vigour and, most of all, absorbing concentration. If you go to the councils, you cannot work up all these absolutely requisite conditions for civil disobedience. If you want to do what has been done in Bardoli,[1] you should now cease to think about things such as the legislative councils, the Assembly, etc. It must be admitted that the country is not at present prepared for civil disobedience and the country must be prepared for it. If you want me to conduct the civil disobedience movement, I would conduct it. But you must be soldiers of the battle and you must acquire all that is required for civil disobedience.

In conclusion, Mahatmaji asked all not to vote for the resolution because he had moved it and said:

I want you to think about the whole resolution in all its aspects and implications properly and then to vote as you think best.

The Hindustan Times, 30-12-1929

337. DISCUSSION WITH SIKH LEADERS[2]

December 27, 1929

It is understood that Mahatmaji placed before the Sikh leaders the text of the Working Committee resolution withdrawing the offer of Dominion Status. Mahatmaji, it is said, told them that he did not think it best to give the Sikhs special protection under the Nehru Report.

[1] Bardoli Satyagraha; *vide* Vol. XXXVII.

[2] An informal conference between the Sikh leaders including Sardar Kharag Singh, Sardar Bahadur Mahtab Singh, Sardar Tara Singh and Sardar Amar Singh on the one side and Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Satyapal and Sardar Sardul Singh on the other.

Since the Sikhs are not satisfied the Congress is prepared to review the question; but the situation has changed now and with the Working Committee withdrawing the offer of Dominion Status, the Nehru Report has automatically lapsed and no review of the question is called for.

Mahatmaji also made it clear that in an independent India the right shall not be apportioned on a communal basis; but, if at all communalism is made the basis of political rights, he shall see that satisfaction is given to the Sikhs.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-12-1929

338. *DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIDYAPITH*

Kakasaheb is writing about what Gujarat Vidyapith has done and what it is trying to achieve. There is one bit of criticism, however, to which he cannot reply. Some say that the Vidyapith has met with disaster since he took charge of it. If it has been ruined, I am responsible for it, not Kakasaheb. This is because so long as the people are enamoured of me or are fond of me and largely accept my advice, I am responsible for the changes that have been made in the Vidyapith. I was primarily responsible for the boycott of Government schools and for formulating a policy for national education. This I must humbly say or admit. It was I who brought over Acharya Gidwani and it is I who asked him to step down. Kakasaheb was connected with the Vidyapith ever since its inception. Again, it was I who took him away from the Vidyapith. During Acharya Gidwani's term of office, the Vidyapith attracted students, land was bought for it and buildings were erected. Perhaps the Vidyapith would not be there if there were no Acharya Gidwani. He had promised me twice that he would readily come over whenever I summoned him. I received Vallabhbhai's telegram in Bhiwani in which he had suggested that Acharya Gidwani should take charge of the Vidyapith. He immediately agreed to do so. And in a few days, the first non-co-operation university in India was launched. The treaty that was made between Gujarat and Sind by bringing him over to the former place is still there. I withdrew Acharya Gidwani because of a difference of opinion that arose in the Vidyapith. That did not imply any slur on anyone. It is my conviction that even today, Acharya Gidwani belongs to Gujarat. He went over to Prem Mahavidyalaya because Gujarat sent him there. And today he is in Karachi, only as a delegate from

Gujarat. At all the three places, it is hoped, the national viewpoint will be fostered. At all the three places, there will certainly be propaganda for khadi.

Acharya Kripalani was borrowed from the Kashi Ashram, which is his own creation. I relieved him as I had promised to do so. Under his leadership, too, the Vidyapith has not taken a retrograde step. At the time of the students' strike, we saw that he had stolen the hearts of the students. Acharya Kripalani was a second gift that Sind gave to Gujarat. Even today, he belongs to Gujarat. In my opinion, under his leadership also the Vidyapith has progressed. Although all may have a common ideal, there is naturally a difference in the work and character of every man. And, it is in accordance with this that an institution which is in charge of a particular person develops and takes on a distinct colour. However, in regard to the Vidyapith, I have felt that this variety has been as beautiful as the variety in the colours of a rainbow. Whereas one principal has strengthened one aspect of it, another has done the same for another aspect of it. The result has only been good. At present the rudder is in the hands of Kakasaheb. He has been moulding the Vidyapith. The Vidyapith has not crumbled; it is going ahead. So long as Kakasaheb is at the helm, all that needs to be said with regard to it is that anyone who has any doubts about it should go there and inspect it. Just as all the three principals have been complementary to one another, the periods to which they belonged also stand in the same relationship to one another. As all the three are fruits of the same tree, there is a continuity hidden behind their work. Not even one of them has wiped out what had been achieved before, but has added to the sum total of its achievements. The present state of the Vidyapith itself bears testimony to this. At the very inception of the Vidyapith, I had suggested a test for judging it; that holds good even today. The Vidyapith is going to be judged neither by its buildings nor by the number of its students, nor again by the knowledge of English that its students possess. It is going to be judged by the patriotism of its students, by their capacity to give to others the knowledge of the subjects which they have learnt, by their knowledge of Hindi, by their knowledge of the science of the spinning-wheel, by the strength of character of its students and teachers, and by their turning towards the villages. Judged by these standards, it is my confirmed belief that the Vidyapith has taken forward strides and anyone who wishes to ascertain this can do so by going over to examine it. Just as a tree is judged by its

fruit, the Vidyapith can be examined in a similar manner. It is not a distant institution about which an investigator would need a testimonial from me or from anyone else. Moreover, it is fair to scrutinize a thing personally, wherever this is possible and where such a scrutiny is necessary. After conducting this inquiry if it is felt that the Vidyapith has made continuous progress and has augmented its capacity to serve, it is only fitting that contributions should flow in to its doors.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-12-1929

339. *SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.*[1]

LAHORE,
December 29, 1929

The President has commanded me to address you to the amendments that have been moved. Mr. Kelkar has reminded me that I had said in my first speeh that I did not want to speak again on the resolution. He is partially correct. What I said was that I would like to be silent as I do not want that at the time of voting you should be influenced by any appeal I might make to you. I wanted you to vote according to your conviction judging the resolution on its merits and leaving out of your mind considerations for me persònally. But if you desire to hear me so that I may explain to you my views on the amendments and on the debate, it is your right to demand it and my duty to comply with.

VOICES: Mahatmaji, kindly address us.

I shall do so. Let me first apologize for my brief absences yesterday when the debate was continuing. I left only to meet nature's needs. I have listened with great care and attention to the speeches made on the resolution.

I would first utter a word of caution. The resolution submitted to you is a resolution proposed by the Working Committee. On dealing with the amendments to the resolutions you should be careful that the Working Committee has been appointed by you and they are your servants. You must have confidence in your servants that they would not press on you any resolution if they did not consider it absolutely necessary after taking into considera-

[1] Gandhiji spoke first in Hindi and then in English.

tion all aspects of the question. I would, therefore, urge you not to press any amendment unless you are very certain that the Working Committee is in the wrong and it is your duty to press the amendment.

This is also a rule which is observed in all well conducted and responsible organizations.

I shall not refer to the words 'in the existing circumstances' which has made several speakers to smell some loophole. I quite agree that it would not be correct to think that all doors for negotiations would remain closed for all times. There is bound to be a round table or a square table conference at some time or other. Many say that once we declare independence as our goal, there will be no conference for us. Even if you have violence as your creed there will have to be a peace conference. The only question is what will be discussed at that conference. I can tell you that now that Congress is declaring independence it would not be right for any Congressmen to go to any conference to discuss Dominion Status. Congressmen can enter any conference only to discuss independence.

Now a complaint has been made that we have not disclosed the conversations that took place between the Viceroy and Nehru and myself and other leaders in the agreed statement which has been published in the Press. Whatever you had the need to know, whatever you had the right to know has been conveyed. Nehru went to that meeting with the Viceroy as your ambassador and he ought to be relied upon. In view of what had been published regarding the conversations with the Viceroy the word 'in existing circumstances' are quite intelligible.

Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Kelkar have pleaded for postponement of the decision. I have great respect and affection for them. They have pleaded for the revival of the All-Parties Conference. Let me tell you that I have no regrets about the All-Parties Conference. It has done very valuable work. It has brought the Congressmen and the leaders of other parties together. It has enabled them to understand one another. It has brought about co-operation between them. It has brought the Liberals and other friends nearer to us. Therefore, I am fully alive to the very useful work done by the All-Parties Conference.

My reply to our friends like Pandit Malaviya and others is that we of the Congress have got our duty to perform. We have to chalk out our programme. The Viceroy's refusal to give an assurance that we wanted and non-fulfilment of other conditions makes our course of action clear.

At Calcutta I pleaded for the grant of two years' time. I would have been glad if that had been granted. That would have given us more time to be prepared but to meet the wishes of our youth who wanted the pace of progress to be increased, I agreed to the reduction of the period from two years to one year. I must keep to my pledge. I believe that once the nation makes a resolve it ought to adhere to it whatever may be the consequence. Otherwise, it would be degrading. That is why I want you to declare for independence and keep your resolve. There are amongst us those who believe that we are not yet ripe to declare independence. If you are of that opinion and if you think that it is a wrong move to declare independence do not hesitate to say so. It is urged that we should postpone the declaration for independence until inter-communal unity has been attained. I do not agree with that view. Nations must, having once resolved, adhere to their resolves whether they have the support of only a handful or of millions. Of course, we must try to secure the support of the largest number of our countrymen.

Now I shall refer to boycotts. I have been asked why the boycott of courts and schools has been omitted. I may tell you frankly that I am never in favour of omitting any of the triple boycott. In fact, I want a fivefold boycott, but that is another matter. I am certainly for the triple boycott. That is my view. But are we ready for it? As one of the nation I must keep pace with the nation. I have therefore included only the boycott of councils and local bodies because of the feeling that time has not come for calling on the lawyers and the students. If you think the time has come to make that call and that call would be answered, do so.

I have been reminded in the discussion of council boycott of the valiant actions of President Patel. I yield to none in my admiration of President Patel's achievements. I recognize that he had enhanced the prestige and status of India and Indians, but neither President Patel nor the resolutions in the Assembly or the councils can give us independence. They would not get us Dominion Status either. The Working Committee was unanimous in adoption of boycott of councils.

As regards local bodies and municipalities I want to tell you that I had not included them in my original draft, but I do not believe that local bodies can do any good to national work. The experiences of Pandit Jawaharlal who was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality, of Babu Rajendra Prasad who was the Chairman of the Patna Municipality and Sardar Vallabhbhai

Patel who was the Chairman of the Ahmedabad Municipality confirm my view. I have no personal experience. I can however tell you that if Sardar Patel had not relieved himself from the Chairmanship of the Ahmedabad Municipality there could have been no Bardoli campaign. I have not seen any local body having strengthened the people. I want the villagers to be strengthened. We ask for independence, but we are not prepared to forgo even the small benefits. We must be prepared to forgo small benefits. We must retain only those which would help us attain our goal. But these are my personal observations. The decision rests with you.[1]

We can only non-co-operate step by step. Please do not tamper with the resolution as it is one united whole. But do not talk vaguely. Vote my resolution down if you do not believe in it or, amend it. I did not include the boycott of law-courts because I was not sure of response.

I shall now deal with the objections raised to the preamble of this resolution, namely, endorsement of the Delhi Manifesto and the appreciation of the Viceroy. The preamble is quite necessary. The leaders acted in obedience to the Calcutta Resolution in holding themselves in readiness for any conversations for the attainment or guarantee of Dominion Status. As regards appreciation of the Viceroy, Pandit Motilalji as well as myself feel that we have in the Viceroy a genuine person whose sincere aim is to secure peace. I think I can say it of the Viceroy. That is my impression as the result of my contact with the Viceroy. That is also Nehru's view.

I shall now come to the doubts expressed that independence cannot be attained by non-violence. I do not agree with that view. If you do not agree with me and if you do feel that violence should not be eschewed from consideration say so and change the creed. Do not stay your hands out of consideration for me. Do as your convictions tell you. Let me however tell you my conviction that if the nation carried out the non-violent programme loyally, there need not be any doubt about the attainment of our goal. Where is room for misgivings if we do not fill the Government treasury with our tax moneys, if our soldiers decline to serve and withdraw, if our lawyers boycott the courts, if our students boycott the schools? Where is the necessity for violence? For our nation with its three hundred millions of people there is no call for violence. But I do not want to say more to you on the efficiency and efficacy of non-violence after you have given this non-violent creed

[1] The paragraph which follows is from *The Tribune*.

a trial for all these years. Now it is ten years and you have not been convinced about its potency. What can I say in its defence? Review the course of the last ten years. Look at the national awakening, at national assertion, at the freedom of opinion, association and action shown by the people. Are these not the fruits of the working of the non-violent creed? But if you are not of my opinion, do not hesitate to vote against the non-violent creed but do not mean one thing and say another thing. Be frank, courageous and vote according to your convictions.

Mahatma Gandhi next spoke in English traversing the ground covered in his Hindi speech. He emphasized that his regard and affection for Malaviyaji and Mr. Kelkar and other friends could not possibly deflect him from the course which suggested itself to him as being in the interests of the nation. The step he and Pt. Motilal took at the meeting with the Viceroy as representatives of the Congress with the Calcutta resolution in view [was the only step they] could have taken and it was impossible for them today to recommend any other resolution. He knew that they had unanimity behind the All-Parties Conference but unanimity would be too great a price to pay if they had to sacrifice immediate Dominion Status. If they had broken that unanimity, they did so only to come together again, but not now on Dominion Status but on the platform of independence. He knew they would come in for a great deal of condemnation here, in England and elsewhere but they must run the risk in the interests of the nation.

As for that part of the resolution relating to the boycott of legislatures, Mahatma Gandhi declared himself still a believer not in the triple boycott alone but in fivefold boycott programme which he originally enunciated. But he could go only so far as the nation could go. There was no question of principle and when he saw that most valued associates and friends could not see eye to eye with him he loyally accepted their decision and went as far as he could with them in associating himself with the programme of entry into the legislatures. But when he found to his joy that their experience as they told him was that nothing more could be achieved through the councils than what had already been done, he put forward the idea of the boycott of legislatures. He could not say likewise in regard to the boycott of law-courts and schools but when the time came for it he would be glad to submit that also for consideration. But now as far as he could sense the opinion in the country there was yet no atmosphere for these two boycotts.

As for the boycott of local bodies it was adopted by the Working Committee on the suggestion of one member of it. This house was to judge whether these should be boycotted or not. But his view was that independence could not come through local bodies and the less they looked up to these agencies which were a creation of the Government and which had still to derive sustenance even to certain extent from the Government the better.

Much had been said about boycotting insurance companies, banks, etc. He for one would certainly try to give up every activity with which the Government was associated, but that had been an impossibility even for him, the author of non-co-operation. He was ashamed of having to make that confession but there it was.[1]

As for the preamble to the resolution Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the creed of non-violence necessarily carried common courtesy.

If any Englishman meant well by India then this house would be unworthy of its trust if it did not show courtesy to him. He did not want to vindicate the independence by harming Englishmen. It would do Englishmen good if they retired from India, but he did not want to make them retire by firing a single shot.

Mahatma Gandhi proceeding explained that he had more effective means of making Englishmen retire from India. That was to cease to salaam them and to cease to pay tribute. The moment they all did that Englishmen would cease to be slave-holders. The last word was imperfectly heard. But there was no doubt that the impression which the Viceroy gave him and Pandit Motilal was that he was a sincere man.

Lastly Gandhiji addressed himself to the amendment that complete independence should be attained by all possible means and not necessarily by peaceful means. He said the nation had shed a large part of fear by the non-co-operation movement. If they had no trust in non-violence and truth vindicating not merely Dominion Status because that was buried once for all but even independence, then he asked them to respect it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 31-12-1929 and *The Tribune*, 31-12-1929

340. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

LAHORE,
Silence Day, December 30, 1929

SISTERS,

I am writing this simply to let you know that I remember you on this Silence Day. I hope to arrive there on the 5th. It is very cold here. There is noise all around me. I am sitting in a meeting and shall not, therefore, try to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3714

[1] What follows is from *The Tribune*.

341. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

LAHORE,
December 30, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

Though it is my Silence Day, Jawaharlal has dragged me to the Subjects Committee. Sitting in the meeting, I am writing letters. There is nothing special to write about to you. But wherever I happen to be on the Silence Day, I remember you all. That is why I write this.

I think we shall be able to start from here on the 3rd. A situation has arisen which does not permit me to go away.

It is very cold. Everyone feels it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Everyone must have been introduced to Dr. Mehta. He must have been carefully looked after.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4170

342. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.—I[1]

December 30, 1929

With the President's permission I would refer to one matter before I speak on the resolution. Mr. Harisarvothamarao appealed to me on council boycott amendment[2] to omit the council boycott after having seen the strength of the feeling on the subject, seeing that it would result in fraternal war. Now Mr. Raja has appealed to me to delete the preamble[3] to the main resolution seeing that the amendment has been retained by one vote only.

Mr. Harisarvothamarao has reminded me how I stayed my hands in Allahabad and asked me to do the same now. Now

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

[2] Which was lost, 116 voting for and 117 against

[3] Moved by N. C. Kelkar and lost, 113 voting for and 114 against. The amendment sought to delete from the resolution the mention of appreciation of the Viceroy's services towards peaceful settlement of the national struggle.

let me tell you that I would withdraw my proposal for the council boycott not once but hundred times if it was in my hands and also if I had hands and also if I thought it was in the interests of the country. I have placed the main resolution before you not on my behalf but on behalf of the Working Committee. If it had been left to me alone I would have placed before you a triple boycott. As regards an appeal to me to accept the amendment which has just been lost by a strength of one vote let me remind you that we claim to work under democratic constitution. One vote has today meant that the amendment has been lost, but one vote the other way could have easily meant the retention of the amendment. What you have to consider is whether the country would suffer by the loss of the amendment.

The Bombay Chronicle, 31-12-1929

343. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.-II

December 30, 1929

This Congress congratulates the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, the Anti-Untouchability Committee and the Prohibition Committee on the vigorous prosecution of the work entrusted to them, but notes with regret that the response from the nation has not been as adequate as the Congress had the right to expect. Experience gained by these Committees and by the All-India Spinners' Association shows that far more effective work becomes possible through autonomous organizations created for specific activities. This Congress, therefore, hereby declares the foregoing Committees to be permanent with complete autonomy and with powers to add to their number, to frame their respective constitutions and to raise funds, provided that they shall follow the general policy of the Congress and further that the Congress reserves to itself full authority to disown any of these bodies when and if they appear to the Congress to be acting contrary to the national interest.[1]

Mahatmaji then spoke.

As regards the resolution which has been submitted to you several questions have been asked. It has been asked: 'Is it intended to create an empire within the empire?' My reply is in the affirmative. Even they say *imperium in imperio*. I want you to give these Committees, which it is proposed to create, dominion

[1] The resolution was placed before the Subjects Committee by Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of Gandhiji. For the draft by Gandhiji, *vide* Resolution No. 3, p. 321.

status. You have given dominion status to the All-India Spinners' Association and the result is that they are carrying on work in 1,500 villages and the prestige of all the work which is done goes to the Congress. If the All-India Spinners' Association ever becomes anti-Congress in its tendency, then you can withdraw the permission that you have given them to use your name. Today the Congress is for khaddar. But we have amongst us a school of thought which is against khaddar and works against it. Then we have also a school which believes that production of khaddar alone will not effect a complete boycott of foreign cloth and that mill-cloth also should be included in the Congress programme. The All-India Spinners' Association believes that khaddar would give us swaraj. If tomorrow the Congress fails to believe in khaddar and is of opinion that the policy of the Spinners' Association is against the policy of the Congress, it has only to pass a resolution at a general meeting and to disown that body. The Congress should, when such conflict arises, non-co-operate with that body.

Then it is asked what about the prestige, authority and strength the Spinners' Association would have attained during the time that it had the use of the name of the Congress. Yes, there is that risk. But you must be prepared to take risk. You must have the self-confidence that as long as the Congress works on lines of truth it alone will remain as the supreme body and that no subordinate body can ever usurp its authority or prestige. In history there are instances where such usurpations have taken place. But you must be willing to take that risk. There is no compulsion in this matter. This is one way of getting work done. To those who have a special taste for one kind of work the Congress says go forward and do good work in our name and with our approval. It results in good work being done and the Congress prestige and authority is enhanced thereby. In this connection I am reminded of the Chirala-Perala example. Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, when he started the Chirala-Perala satyagraha[1], consulted me. I told him and when I went to Chirala-Perala I told the people that they must not take the name and authority of the Congress for their movement. They must do it on their own responsibility. If they succeed the Congress will get the credit. If they failed they would take the odium.

Here I am proposing to you something reverse. Under this resolution work will be done and the Congress will get the credit. But it would not give money. It would not exert itself. It is open

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 16-8.

to you today to wind up the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee as also the Prohibition Committee and the Anti-Untouchability Committee. For the last two years I have been trying to do anti-untouchability work through Jamnalalji.

Not much work could be done for long years. Meanwhile the Calcutta Congress[1] passed a resolution appointing the Anti-Untouchability Committee and the work was entrusted to Jamnalalji who was able to achieve some result and the credit for it went to the Congress. It is not the main work of the Congress to take full responsibility for social work. It should at the same time promote it. The Congress is a political body in which there are bound to be frequent differences of opinion. I would urge to have a far-sighted vision and to create these Committees and to let them do good work by organizations which are of their own making and with money which they collect.

I am your servant. I am bound to your service. Let me tell you frankly. What is the good of ignoring facts? It is not easy to get all the money which the Congress would want for all these purposes. In the name of the Congress I can tell you so. From my experience in my wide travelling I note and observe many things. In Andhra and in the United Provinces I had to face several questions regarding the Congress fund. They ask what happened to the Tilak Swaraj Fund? Who spent it? And how did you spend it? Where is the account? Then they also say, 'We will give you money in your name. We will give it to you but not to the Congress.' I tell them give it to me in any name. I shall render you account for every pie and I now ask you let me spend this money on the objects which the Congress approves today. But in return I ask you to grant these Committees dominion status. As regards the Congress we ought to know what response we get for our appeals for funds. We levied a tax of one per cent on the income and to our shame we know how few have paid the levy. These Committees want from you no money, no men but only permission to work in your name. But you who cannot find money or men say: 'No we must have control.' I tell you that you have no right to it. If you had that right you would not be granting to these Committees dominion status which I beg of you to give to them. There it is. Give these Committees dominion status or do not. But let there be no misconception. I tell the foreign Government that independence is my right. But I tell you, I beseech you, I beg of you to give me dominion status

[1] In 1928

or freedom for these Committees. But do as you think right.

But let me make one appeal to you in connection with the main resolution. You have tried your strength with me for two days. You are free to do so in the open Congress also on that resolution. I am prepared to meet you and fight with you. But please do not be obstructive in respect of other resolutions. Show that you have the sense of value of time. Please be businesslike. You refuse to be businesslike. You take two days over one resolution. You give no time to the Working Committee and then you take it to task for not supplying copies of the resolution to you. Is that right? Is that workable? I read in the papers recently that the annual meeting of the Bank of England which is concerned with the management of crores of rupees was over in thirteen and a half minutes. Let us learn from them. I appeal to you to decide as you like, but to be businesslike and to have less of speeches. Ask questions to get information, but do not argue because it would be an expenditure of time.

Replying to Dr. Rahim, Mahatmaji said that these Committees were proposed on the principle of specialization of work. Mahatmaji instanced the work which Dr. Hardikar was doing through the Hindustani Seva Dal in the name of the Congress, but under an autonomous constitution. Continuing, Mahatmaji said:

If the Congress wants to keep everything in its hand then there would be no doing of work and no progress. There are some people who have a taste for one kind of work only and who are prepared to give their time and energy for specific purposes. They should be mobilized in the service of the objects which the Congress has in view and which would also enhance its prestige.

Replying to Mr. Ramanarayan Singh, Gandhiji said that it was true that in certain cases khaddar had to be popularized on the basis of its economic appeal only. Khaddar had both economic and political aspects. In Rajputana as also in some other States khaddar was 'red rag' to the rulers. In such cases khaddar was presented in its economic aspect. Gandhiji said:

I went the other day to one Chief Justice and asked him for money for khaddar. He said it is political. I said it may have political effects, but you have nothing to do with it. It's humanitarian.

Replying to Mr. Aney, Gandhiji said that once the Committee was created the Congress would have no voice in its personnel.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-1-1930

[1] The resolution was then put to vote and defeated by an overwhelming majority.

344. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.-III[1]

December 30, 1929

I know you have just now thrown out one resolution moved by me and you may throw off this resolution too. But because you like to overthrow some resolutions, the Working Committee and myself cannot stop our work. The members of the Working Committee are your servants and they must perform their work whatever decisions you may make upon their work. Since you seem to have lost your confidence in your Working Committee I think you should elect a separate Working Committee of yours. Since the Nagpur Congress[2] I have been urging upon this important change in the Congress constitution. I am confirmed in my belief that delegates are too heavy for the Congress to proceed with its work smoothly, promptly and in a businesslike manner. I also believe that 350 members for the All-India Congress Committee are also too heavy. I feel it my duty to place before you a programme for your work and it is for you to decide it. You must fully realize what your work is. I would like to urge upon you that if you do not pass this resolution today you will have to pass it tomorrow or the day after. If you so choose you may elect another Working Committee of yours. But so long as this Working Committee is there you should see that whatever is placed by it is passed. I am convinced that the demonstrative part of the present-day Congress should be separated. It means a lot of waste of money and energy. This resolution means concentration of the Congress force. If you have not got so many members in the Assembly why should you think it proper that the All-India Congress Committee should have such a number of members? You talk of National Parliament. You should then realize what should be the size of your National Parliament. If the Congress wants to spread away all over the country it should concentrate on its programme. You want civil disobedience. But you can never expect civil disobedience to be a practical thing with such an unwieldy national body which is to set to the work. I am living for civil disobedience and if need be I will carry on civil

[1] Gandhiji spoke after moving the resolution on reduction in the number of delegates to the A.I.C.C. For the text, *vide* Resolution No. 4, p. 321.

[2] In 1920

disobedience separately. You can never think of civil disobedience with such indiscipline as exists there today. I do not want to say more on the resolution. Now you are to decide in any way you like.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-1-1930

345. SPEECH AT CONGRESS SESSION, LAHORE–I

December 31, 1929

Mr. M. K. Gandhi . . . moved the following resolution:

> This Congress deplores the bomb outrage perpetrated on the Viceroy's train and reiterates its conviction that such action is not only contrary to the creed of the Congress but results in harm being done to the national cause. It congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants on their fortunate and narrow escape.

After speaking in Hindustani Mr. Gandhi continued:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS,

I have been asked to give you in English the substance of what I have said. In my opinion, it will be a good beginning if our resolutions dealing with the task before the Congress are passed unanimously. In appearing before you I have realized my responsibility in the matter to the fullest and my certain conviction is that the Congress will fail in its obvious duty if it does not record this resolution. You find the reason for it stated in the resolution itself. So long as the Congress creed remains what it is, namely, that we want to attain swaraj, not by any means, but by peaceful and legitimate means, it is our bounden duty to take note of anything that happens in India in breach of that condition. You might be told, as I dare say you will be told, that when people who do not belong to the Congress organization and are not connected with it in any shape or form do particular acts which may be contrary to our creed, we are in no way and in no sense responsible. Those who think like that have, I say in all humility, little sense of the tremendous responsibility that rests on their shoulders; and they have little sense also of the great status that belongs to the Congress. We either claim to represent the thirty crores of Hindustan or we do not. If we claim to represent them, as I, a humble Congress worker, most certainly do, and as

[1] The resolution was declared lost by 111 against 101 votes.

I hope, you also do, then it is our duty to consider ourselves responsible for anything that any single person born in Hindustan may do and it does not matter to me in the slightest whether that person is a reasonable human being or whether he belongs to the C.I.D. I hope that you consider the C.I.D. Indians also to be our kith and kin. Every Indian we expect to convert by our deeds to our creed and use his services in the attainment of our goal. Not only that, but the resolution states, and I hope you believe it, that such acts do great harm to the national cause.

I do not wish to take up your time by drawing your attention to the various landmarks in the history of the Congress, which would enable you to prove to your own satisfaction that each bomb outrage has cost India dear. You may say, if you wish to, that the reforms that were obtained could not have been obtained without bomb outrages or without violence. Let me tell you that every one of these reforms has cost far more than you would care to pay. We have paid millions in exchange for mere toys.

The Congress Resolution also congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants. In my humble opinion it is a natural corollary to what has been said in the previous part of the resolution, that we congratulate the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party. We lose nothing by using common courtesy. Not only so; we would be guilty of not having understood the implications of our creed if we forget that those Englishmen, whether in authority or not, who choose to remain in India are our charge, that we who profess this creed of non-violence should consider ourselves trustees for the safety of their lives. We have a tremendous military burden which is crushing the starving millions who are living in the 700,000 villages of India. That military burden is really not due to the necessities of frontier defence, but let me assure you, that burden is due to the fact that thirty crores of people are held bond-slaves by a few thousand Englishmen coming all the way from England. If we would get rid of this military burden at any stage, it would be a necessity of the case that we hold the lives of those whom we may even consider our enemies as a sacred trust. That is the clearest possible implication, in my humble opinion, of the creed of non-violence for the political salvation of India, and if you hold with me, then it is not only a matter of courtesy on your part, but it is a matter of duty to tender our congratulations to the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the servants, and tender congratulations, if you will, to ourselves also. I hope that after having listened to everything that might be said against this

resolution you will pass it unanimously and heartily.[1]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I know I have spoken enough on this resolution and the less I speak now the better. But strong faith in some particular thing sometimes impels one to speak on in its favour in the hope that it might convince others. This impulse has drawn me here again.

Your Congress is about to undertake a major task. It is in the offing. All of you have assembled here in this Congress with great hopes, namely, to define swaraj as complete independence. To my mind we can be completely independent only when we preserve the liberty of different communities residing in India. In the light of what I have told you—provided you consider it right —what is our duty today? We should be able to assure each and every Englishman, even a child, that his safety is the sacred concern of those Indians who seek independence. We do not say this out of any fear. It is quite possible that in the heat of excitement you may not follow my viewpoint but I am sure later on you will also be persuaded to it.

Several friends have opposed this resolution. In the opinion of Swami Govindanand and Dr. Alam this resolution is unwarranted. Let me tell you that if we oppose this resolution it means we are not true to the creed of non-violence—and Dr. Alam claims to be a votary of non-violence. Whatever we do, we should be able to say unhesitatingly, "Yes, we have done it." The atmosphere, however, has changed lately. It is being suggested that no note should be taken of a recent violent outrage. The argument advanced is: "Let us go our way and let them go their way." But I can assure you that this is not the way to attain independence. When we claim that the Congress is the largest organization in India, nothing should deter us from registering the views of the Congress regarding such incidents in the country.

If you want to reject the resolution, do so by all means. If you desire to discard the creed of the Congress, you are welcome to do so. But if the Congress creed remains what it is, then you cannot but adopt this resolution. One thing more—it has pained me to hear that the youth would be enraged at the adoption of this resolution by the Congress and they may leave the Congress. What does this mean? It is not as if I do not know the younger generation. I have come in contact with young men by thousands . . . even in Europe. I claim that not one of

[1] A debate on the resolution followed in which M.A. Ansari, Swami Govindanand, Purushottamdas Tandon and others spoke. What follows is translated from Gandhiji's speech in Hindi.

them has opposed me in anything. Even here they come to confer with me. If I emphatically proclaim in the Congress what I consider the truth, I daresay that not a single young man would desert me. Granting, however, that young men are not happy about it, even then, at the risk of their displeasure we shall continue doing our duty in the best interests of the country. May God endow us with strength to follow the better course. The moment I forsake my duties in apprehension that others might abandon me, I shall consider myself unworthy of being a servant of the Congress. If you have faith in the Congress, then your duty is to do what you consider right.

You are votaries of independence. You are going to undertake major tasks—do national work—but I would submit to these friends that they lack the strength for all that. They are trying to cover up their weakness. They aspire to attain independence, whether they have the strength or not. They are trying to talk big. But I wish to tell them that we ought to cleanse our hearts if we decide to launch the new programme.

It is being alleged that this resolution smells or rather stinks of cowardice. I would like you to consider which part in this resolution amounts to flattery of Englishmen. Nothing here can be called flattery. Congress has abandoned all forms of flattery. May I request you to give up the suspicion that we are airing independence and flattery in the same breath. That man is a coward who gives up his duties. Why should a person, who is not afraid of anyone except God, fear the partisans of the bomb? I for one have faith in nothing but our duties—and our creed. There may be persons who have no faith in the creed of the Congress and pay it only lip-service, but the Congress must express its opinion on acts of violence or terrorism. Even at the cost of displeasure or rage of the persons concerned, the Congress must voice its opinion. Whenever this was done, people have become infuriated. May I hope that the young men have grasped my viewpoint? I simply want you to bear in mind that you have come here as delegates. You have taken a pledge, you believe in God, you believe in Truth and if you believe in the Congress you must decide now whether you adhere to it or not. If you have faith in God then with God as your witness take the right step. If, however, you come to the conclusion that the resolution is not correct, then reject it by all means.[1]

Report of the 44th Indian National Congress, Lahore

[1] The resolution was then put to vote and declared carried.

346. SPEECH AT CONGRESS SESSION, LAHORE-II

December 31, 1929

This Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders including Congressmen on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened and the result of the meeting between Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word "swaraj" in Article 1 of the Congress constitution shall mean complete independence and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed, and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organizing a campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed this Congress resolves upon a complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures and committees constituted by Government and calls upon Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the legislatures and committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress and authorizes the All-India Congress Committee whenever it deems fit to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.[1]

MR. PRESIDENT, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

Please tell me whether or no you are able to hear me. (No, no.) I hope now you can hear me. Please be kind and listen to me. (Laughter) If you do so, you are likely to gain but if you

[1] For the draft of the resolution by Gandhiji, *vide* Resolution No. 2, pp. 320-1. What follows is translated from Gandhiji's speech in Hindi.

do not, I don't mind. (Laughter) I shall read out the second resolution copies of which are already in your hands.

If you will kindly permit me I would like to omit reading the resolution. Since you have the resolution in English I hope you must have understood to some extent. With your permission, therefore, I shall not read out the resolution but only explain its purport in Hindi. In the first place, it is a lengthy resolution constituting the very basis of future Congress programme. That is why I wish that all of you must have a clear conception and a firm conviction as regards this resolution.

We have tremendous tasks lying ahead of us. I submit that we should strive to carry on our programme. The first part of the resolution states that the Congress approves the action of the Working Committee regarding the manifesto signed by our leaders replying to the Viceregal announcement of the 31st October, and laying down specific conditions for attending the Round Table Conference.

In the second part it is said that the Congress appreciates the Viceroy's efforts towards a settlement of the national movement for swaraj.

The third part of the resolution states that notwithstanding the appreciation mentioned above, the Congress, having considered the outcome of the meeting between Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jinnah, etc., and the Viceroy, considers that nothing is to be gained in the present circumstances by the Congress being represented at the Round Table Conference. The Congress delegates, therefore, ought not to attend the Round Table Conference, if there is one. Many others may go but we have to decide what we ought to do.

In a resolution passed at last year's Congress session at Calcutta, swaraj was defined, in political terms, as complete independence. Henceforth it becomes our immediate objective. That is why the Congress wants to declare that Nehru Report, which we wanted the British Government to accept, has lapsed since the time-limit fixed for its acceptance at Calcutta has come to an end. As the British Government has failed to accept it within a year the Nehru Report ceases to exist for the Congress. All this is covered in the resolution. The Congress, therefore, expects that all the organizations working under it shall do their utmost for the attainment of complete independence. The resolution goes on to say that since the Congress has subscribed to complete independence we have to work in consistence with that creed. Accordingly, the Congress now resolves not to participate in the Assembly and Council elec-

tions, and has enjoined upon the present Congress members of the Assemblies and Councils to resign their seats. The Congress has hereby made a vigorous appeal to the nation—to the masses — to devote themselves with zeal and vigour to the constructive programme of the Congress, viz., khadi, removal of untouchability, etc. Moreover, the Congress is empowering the All-India Congress Committee to launch a programme of civil disobedience—including non-payment of taxes—whenever and wherever it finds conditions favourable. I would like to tell you that this resolution authorizes total civil disobedience.

I do not want to speak any more on the resolution at present. You must have noticed that some ten or twelve amendments have been moved to it. I shall not take up your time any longer as I wish to give some rest to you as well as to myself. Please listen carefully to whatever is being said in opposition to this resolution. One word of caution I must utter. The first part of the resolution is just a statement—in no way does it amount to flattery of the Viceroy. In fact it is something separate. Another matter to be considered is the proposed resignations from the Assemblies and Councils. I would like you to listen to the debate bearing these things in mind. Actually this lengthy resolution is one organic whole and it should be discussed as such. The resolution seeks to implement the decision taken by the Congress at its Calcutta session. I leave it to you, having heard the arguments, to accept what is good and reject the rest. (Laughter)[1]

MR. PRESIDENT, SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I hope the loudspeakers now work properly. (Laughter) Are they all right?

[VOICES]: Yes, yes.

To begin with, I owe an apology to you all. I could not be present here to hear the debate on the resolution, on the refutations and the amendments. It might be considered a discourtesy on my part, but I am sorry I could not help it. Since I was feeling very exhausted I retired with the kind permission of the President. Moreover, you know, one cannot resist nature and I had to attend nature's call. I have come back on being summoned. I am a little sorry that I could not listen to what my friends had to say on this subject. Nevertheless, as I have read

[1] Then followed a debate in which Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, N. C. Kelkar, S. C. Bose and others spoke. What follows is translated from Gandhiji's speech in Hindi.

all the amendments and heard these friends argue in the Subjects Committee, I can imagine what they must have spoken.

Moreover, I do not believe in arguing and answering. If I simply say what I wish to convey that in itself serves my purpose to a considerable extent. When I said that the resolution should be read out my venerable friend, Pandit Motilal, explained it in Hindi and also gave its genesis. The President asked me to address you in English to enable the Tamil and Bengali friends also to follow me. I told the President that I had nothing new to say. As is already known to you, we had gone to the Viceroy as your message-bearers; and now I stand before you with his response. The Working Committee's reaction was put before the Subjects Committee and now it has come to you.

You must have noticed that this resolution consists of three parts—no doubt they could be further sub-divided. I wish to comment on all the three parts. The first part is the preamble or introduction. It reiterates 'complete independence'. The moment has arrived for realizing the resolve made earlier. The next part gives the reasons behind this reiteration. It spells out what the Viceroy did and how the Working Committee reacted. You must all have a clear grasp of the whole story. This resolution is like an edifice. If a brick is removed, the structure is weakened; if a wall is taken away the edifice collapses. It means that if you reject a part of this resolution you disfigure it—you topple its whole structure, you mutilate its form. If you understand this I ask you to kindly reject all the amendments.

Let us consider one point. Every year you appoint a Working Committee whose duty it is to decide what should be done in the interests of the Congress all the year round. It is left to the discretion of the Working Committee to frame an issue and thereafter place it before you. If the ultimate responsibility is left with the Working Committee it might result in harm. Hence it is open to you to amend its decision as you desire. The Working Committee places the resolution before the Subjects Committee and only after being scrutinized there it is brought to you. That is why I would request you not to make any change now in the resolution which is being moved in the names of Panditji and myself.

Let us see the issues posed here. One is in respect to the Viceroy. I emphatically say that votaries of independence will never renounce their fundamental principles, viz., their steadfastness, valour and courage. Courage does not mean arrogance. You ought not to oppose this part of the resolution. A truly

courageous person will not hesitate to pay a compliment even to his enemy. Granted that being a representative of the British Empire the Viceroy is our enemy—as we regard the British Empire our enemy so we do its representative—nevertheless even enemies are after all human beings. It is, therefore, a gesture which we owe to humanity as such—but the Viceroy wields authority and rules the nation. It is, however, our duty towards any and every human being. It is true that the Viceroy works for the interests of the Empire. Still whatever good efforts he has made have been appreciated here. Since this topic was discussed in the Subjects Committee I have spoken a few words here also on it.

I would like to speak on other amendments as well. According to one of them the phrase 'existing circumstances' should be deleted. In this respect I shall state most humbly that I do not imagine that our delegates need ever go to the proposed Conference. Whenever England is constrained to call the Conference we have in mind, it might become imperative for us to attend it, but not under the existing circumstances. I would like to clarify that such an eventuality can arise and our delegates may then attend a conference. If you take away the phrase 'existing circumstances' you will leave a void there. It is, therefore, not open for you to delete it.

Another issue discussed in the Subjects Committee was in regard to the Councils. My friend Jamnadas Mehta has argued that Gandhi has not said that Councils should be boycotted. To this I shall have to say that you are free to do what you like. However influential a person may be, he cannot issue commands. Who am I? Considering myself a humble servant of the nation, I only draft resolutions. Hence what authority do I have to issue commands? I can only offer advice. Of course, I tender it with all the good intentions and only after having gone into the pros and cons of the matter. I agree that you can gain as much as you desire from the Councils and the Assemblies for your near and dear ones and not only for them but for your country as well. You can have grants amounting to thousands of rupees for the schools. People keep domestic animals like dogs and bullocks, so were slaves kept at one time. These animals do get something to eat; even slaves are fed. But mind you, an animal is after all an animal. No doubt some benefit or other can be had from the Councils but if you aspire to attain complete independence what can you achieve there?

I for one have faith in the boycott of schools and courts as well. I believe in the boycott of many other things. But as I

can only give my advice, I try to co-operate with others, hence I wish to take up only those steps which are approved by others. For example, Pandit Motilalji has gained some experience by working in the Councils. His achievements there have done some good to the nation. He, if not others, has today turned against the Councils. You are aware that at one time these friends resolved to enter the Councils and I agreed as I thought that since they were so keen about it they should have their way. But now they have had enough of it. You have assembled here in thousands. If from your experience you conclude that Councils are essential and but for them the attainment of swaraj will be delayed, then give up the council boycott by all means; but if your experience proves otherwise then please think it over. I believe that the Councils will not be of any good to us, so does Pandit Motilalji. Moreover, he has come to this conclusion after his own experience. Therefore if you are convinced of it please reject the amendments and retain the boycott.

Now let us come to the schools. It is being proposed why not boycott the schools also. I do desire that all the young boys should sacrifice themselves on the altar of the nation. At least those above sixteen should enter the arena, but do we have the atmosphere? I say it is not there. What sort of education are our boys receiving? Of what avail could that education be which is financed from the 25 crore rupees of the revenue derived from liquor and opium? But is it possible today to convince people about this? Years have rolled on and we have seen things for ourselves. Do you think that lawyers would boycott the courts and break stones or spin? Not a single lawyer would do so. Everyone wants to have good food, and money to spend. These lawyers argue that if they boycott the courts they would not be able to pull on. In 1920, when a call was given to boycott the courts, Pandit Motilal and Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das responded, but not the other lawyers. The conditions are not ripe for undertaking these boycotts simultaneously, hence this omission. We do not say that it would be wrong on the part of the lawyers if they would leave their practice and proceed to the villages to participate in the constructive programme but we do feel that the requisite atmosphere has not been created yet.

Besides these, there are other amendments too, but I do not want to go into all of them. One topic, of course, is there, viz., civil disobedience. You want it and I also want it. I would like to say a few words about it. It has been suggested that civil disobedience should be launched throughout the length and breadth

of India. I wish I could do so but I think the time is not yet. This task has been delegated to the All-India Congress Committee but I do not consider that even the All-India Congress Committee will be able to initiate it under the present circumstances. For that you should be peaceful and calm—should have faith in the Congress creed. It is alleged that persons violating laws are criminals, but I declare that mere disobedience of laws does not constitute sin or crime; on the contrary it can have some virtue. But, mind you, only that person is entitled to disobey law who is calm and collected—who believes in the Congress creed, approves it and acts upon it. Today I find that everyone is for division. We do see nothing conducive to civil disobedience. Today I do not see the environment wherein we can challenge the Empire within a month or so. God willing we may do so. His power is great. But perhaps He knows that we are in error at the moment.

The young men who desire to overthrow the Empire by simply waving red pamphlets and flags will be of no help to us. To attain freedom we must cultivate strength. Several persons are of the opinion that strength is generated by drawing the sword, not by remaining peaceful. I prefer to say that we should calmly face the enemy's assault. Brave were those Sikhs who got themselves massacred in 1921, 1922. I admit and believe that cool courage is mightier than the sword. Cool courage can very well implement civil disobedience. If one thinks that complete independence cannot be achieved through peaceful means, it implies that he has no faith in cool courage. The moment we acquire cool courage, complete independence will be ours.

After all what does independence mean? Independence means freedom of the 7 lakh villages. Therefore I ask you to reject the amendments and pass the resolution.

Another amendment suggests the continuation of the *status quo* till February; let no decision be taken just now, it says, let an All-Parties Convention be summoned. I do not approve of this and I feel that it would produce no results. According to another amendment it is being proposed that along with civil disobedience we may set up a parallel government to frighten this Government. This amendment has been moved by Subhas Chandra Bose. At Calcutta too this proposition was mooted. I have great regard for Subhas Chandra Bose. But he considers me just an old man of sixty. It is true that I have grown weak and he can physically lift me up if he desires to. But I claim I am still young at heart. (Laughter) I can outdo younger men. That is why I claim that notwithstanding the belief that one becomes

senile after sixty, I do not feel so at all. I think even today I can control young people. Supposing today I am offered a horse to ride, I shall gladly accept it—I shall not ride the horse myself (Laughter) but I shall lead it; for holding the reins Jawaharlal Nehru is there. (Laughter) Today the reins of the nation are in the hands of the youth. It is up to them to strive unitedly for the independence of the country. Let them not say afterwards that the opportunity was not offered to them. It is being alleged that I think too much of Jawaharlal. I do not deny it. I find that he is keen on work. It would be highly detrimental if you do not unite to work. The programme of parallel government will yield no benefit. We are not yet prepared for parallel government. We ought not to bite more than we can chew.

You have to carry on propaganda in 7,00,000 villages. So far nothing has been done there. It is hard to find even 7,00,000 Congress members in those villages. Our villagers are not even familiar with the name of the Congress. Under such circumstances instead of talking of parallel government we should work in the villages—should educate the villagers. Only after having accomplished this much can we think of parallel government. The hour is not ripe for it today.

Friends, I have had my say regarding the amendments. And having analysed the resolution I have made it clear to you what ought to be accepted. That is why I earnestly say that you are welcome to reject the resolution if you desire to do so but for heaven's sake do not mutilate it. It is far better to kill a handsome man than chop off his nose or ears. It is not decent to chop off ears and noses. (Laughter) It is wrong to do so. Do not try it. The thing has been placed before you; you may keep it if you like it or reject it if you don't.[1]

Now a few words to the friends from the south and to the friends from Bengal. Twice I got a note as I was coming here, from one of the delegates, that now it was high time that, in the Congress at least, nothing but the Rashtra Bhasha, Hindi or Hindustani, was spoken and heard. That is really a counsel of perfection. Years have rolled by and yet even delegates have not fitted themselves for conducting the proceedings in the national language. I hope that next time when we meet we will all come prepared to understand everything that may be said here in Hindustani; but today let us face facts as they are

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in English.

and understand that there are some who do not understand Hindustani, and for their sake I will say only a few words.

With reference to the amendments that have been moved in connection with this resolution, I want to use the same simile that I have used in Hindustani that this resolution has got to be considered as a whole, as a building or as a whole picture. He who destroys a part of the picture or a part of the building destroys the whole of it. You take off a few bricks here or a wall there from the building and it is bound to topple; it has become shaky; it is not the building that had been conceived by the architect. Similarly with a picture. You paint a picture and any interference with a part of it destroys the whole of the picture. The Working Committee gave all the skill that they were capable of commanding to the framing of the resolution. Then it went into the Subjects Committee and there it was sought to make it undergo all sorts of changes and now it has come to you. Now, it is really for you either to reject that proposition *in toto* or to accept it *in toto*, but not to interfere with it or disturb it. There are amendments, for instance, to strike out the phrase 'in the existing circumstances'. I assure you that it has a definite place there. It is time that we realized that some day or other we shall have to meet in conference with the enemy for the establishment of independence. The phrase is necessary. But it is equally true that that phrase makes it incumbent on the Congress not to be represented in a conference where independence is excluded.

Similarly there is the appreciation of the efforts of the Viceroy in connection with the swaraj settlement. Either you believe the testimony of your two chosen representatives or you reject that testimony. If you really believe that your representatives have told you the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth when they say: "The Viceroy seemed to us to mean well; he was courteous throughout; he patiently went through the whole thing as if two friends had met"—if you accept all this testimony, does it not behove you, is it not a matter of common courtesy, is it not your bounden duty to appreciate that effort, if, as I say, you believe their testimony? If, on the other hand, you do not believe their testimony, then you must hound them out of the Congress. It is not a sign of courage that one should be ashamed of saying what one feels; but it is a sign of decided courage when a man openly admits the good that even his enemy does. As a matter of fact a people that are pledged to the creed of non-violence will always go out of their way to perform an act of courtesy to the enemy, to think well of the enemy and to see

hope where there seems to be utter darkness, because a man of truth and non-violence is always filled with hope. Hope begets hope, hope begets courage and hope therefore begets decisive action. Therefore as men pledged to a creed of this character it is your double duty to accept this statement in the original resolution and summarily to reject the amendments that have been moved.

Then there is the question of boycott of the legislatures. I can only say with reference to it that it is supported by the testimony of some of those who went into the legislatures with high hopes, and amongst these towering above all is Pandit Motilal Nehru. When he who did brilliant work in the Assembly and commanded the respect even of his opponents says that we can make no further progress in the legislatures his testimony is final for me as it should be for you also. I have no personal experience of these legislatures, but I have got the fixed immovable conviction that what I used to say about the legislatures and the rest in 1924 applies even today, if possible with greater strength.

Again it is said that if you boycott the legislatures, why not boycott the schools and the law-courts? It is a perfectly consistent and logical proposition, but mankind is not governed always by logic and consistency alone. Sometimes mankind gets illogical; it vindicates its weakness as also its strength by being frankly and even brutally inconsistent. Inconsistent we are in boycotting the legislatures and not boycotting the schools and the law-courts and the post office and the railways and what not. But there comes our wisdom in understanding our limitations and the Working Committee did understand those limitations; and although the proposition was contested in the Subjects Committee, the majority of the Subjects Committee have come to the conclusion that we may no longer go to the legislatures, and that we have got strength enough to remain outside the legislatures. There is one stock argument, I know, that no matter what you do your places will never remain vacant; but it is not the idea that the places should remain vacant. If there is an opium den and if you imagine that fifty thousand people go there including yourselves, will we hesitate to empty that opium den because somebody else will go and occupy that place? I am quite certain that we will not. If we believe that the legislatures are played out for the nation and for the Congress, then it is wisdom for us to stay out. That others will occupy our places is not a relevant consideration. The relevant consideration is this: can we or can we not, in terms of complete independence, go to these legislatures or hasten our progress towa rds ourgoal by entering or remaining in the legi-

slatures? If you feel that we can hasten our progress towards independence by going into these legislatures, by all means go there. I will not talk to you now about the oath that has got to be taken in the legislatures, though for a man like me that also becomes a conclusive argument.

As for the boycott of the schools and law-courts, as I have told you, I do not see today the atmosphere about us necessary for such boycott. If there is no such atmosphere, what is the use of putting in a clause which is not going to be operative, which is not going to be acted upon by the very people to whom it is addressed?

Then there comes the question of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is a thing which I swear by because I possibly cannot conceive India winning her freedom by criminal disobedience; and criminal disobedience means the bomb and the sword. I can conceive of freedom and independence being achieved by and on behalf of the starving millions scattered over the length and breadth of India, in the seven hundred thousand villages, by legitimate and peaceful means only. Disobedience to be absolutely effective has got to be always civil, that is always non-violent; and if you want that civil disobedience should come in the near future you will have to transform yourselves. You will then not have jugglery of thought; you will not then deceive yourselves and, unconsciously it may be, deceive the nation also into the belief that the bomb and non-violence can run on parallel lines. In a place like India where the mightiest organization is pledged to [non-] violence, if you really believe in your own creed, that is to say, if you believe in yourselves, if you believe in your nation, then it is civil disobedience that is wanted; and if it is civil disobedience that is wanted, then, you must observe the strictest discipline, you must see that no passion arises at least amongst ourselves, no ugly demonstrations of the sort that we have seen here and that we saw in the Subjects Committee; we must be calm, cool, collected, courageous, brave; and we must speak to the point, never obstruct. It does not matter a bit if every one of my propositions is lost; I must have toleration for those who have moved and supported these amendments. Then only shall I be able to vindicate my faith in non-violent organization. And so, if you really want civil disobedience in the near future, it is necessary for you to conduct the proceedings of the Congress and of the Subjects Committee in a manner behoving peaceful men. If you have got real love for freedom, then there is no room for irritation, mutual jealousies, quarrels; but there is room only for united, brave, calm and

collected action. Hence I ask you with all the strength that I can possibly command to carry this resolution with acclamation because this is the central resolution of this session. Let it not be said in the world that we, who today pledge ourselves to independence, pledge ourselves with divided counsels, that we are a house divided against itself and therefore bound to fall. Let us go forth to the whole world that we rose to a man to vindicate our freedom and that we pledged ourselves to attain that freedom by the quickest possible manner. Hence I ask you to reject summarily the resolution of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose also. I know that he is a great worker in Bengal; he has shone in many a field; he was the commander-in-chief of our forces in Bengal. He has moved a proposition which is not an amendment, it is really a substantive resolution to be substituted for the original resolution. It is a good proposition, I do not deny that; but it goes far beyond my resolution. It suggests a parallel government. If you think that you can have a parallel government today then let me tell you that the Congress flag does not at present fly even in one thousand villages. All honour to those who favour this amendment but it is not bravery, it is not prudence, it is not wisdom. You cannot establish freedom by the mere passing of a resolution. You will establish freedom not by words but by deeds. Therefore, consider whether you can establish a parallel government today, whether you can carry out all the boycotts mentioned in that resolution. We are not declaring independence, mind you. In Madras we declared independence as our goal. Here we go a step further and say that independence is not a distant goal but it is our immediate objective. But Subhas Chandra Bose wants you to go a step further still. I would like to follow him through and through if I considered parallel government a present possibility. Parallel government means our own law-courts, our own schools and colleges, etc. If you think that we have the ability to do today all the things enumerated in Subhas Babu's resolution you should pass it and reject my proposition. But I suggest to you that we have not that ability today and therefore I ask you to think with me that the step sugges tedby the Working Committee is the longest step that we can take today; a step further and it lands you in a pitfall. That is my certain conviction and hence I urge you with all the strength that I can command to carry this resolution without the change of a comma.[1]

Report of the 44th Indian National Congress, Lahore

[1] The resolution was put to vote and carried.

347. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.–I

January 1, 1930

Mahatma Gandhi, in supporting the resolution[1], said:

I have travelled throughout the country more than anybody else.

MR. JAMNADAS MEHTA: I think except Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

MAHATMAJI: I do not think there is any exception.

MR. JAMNADAS MEHTA: But Jamnalalji claims that.

MAHATMAJI: I refute this charge. I have travelled throughout the country in the third class and have mixed with the poor more than anyone else and I have seen with my own eyes how the poor suffer in winter. This proposal has been placed before you after the most careful consideration of all the months of the year. During the month suggested there is no rain, no malaria or any other epidemic or diseases. It may be said that we get railway concession during the Christmas. But I think it is immaterial. And we hope to be in control of the railways before long. (Laughter) Similarly the question that we will not get students as our volunteers seems to be also immaterial, because besides students there are lakhs of people who are non-students and I hope these poor men will take part in the Congress. The months of February and March are the best months for the poor from the point of view of convenience and cheapness. I very much realize the remark that we are Xmas politicians. Henceforth we want to dispose of our business most promptly and I think I need not speak much on this resolution.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-1-1930

[1] Which read: Inasmuch as the Congress is intended to be representative of the poor masses and inasmuch as the holding of the Congress at the end of December involves a very considerable expense to the poor people in providing for extra clothing for themselves and is otherwise inconvenient to them, the date of holding the Congress session is hereby altered to some date in February or March to be fixed by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Committee of the Province concerned.

348. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.–II

January 1, 1930

Mahatmaji then moved the resolution of the Working Committee repudiating the national debt and declaring that at the time of final settlement of India's national debt a tribunal would be appointed to judge which debt India should pay and would pay according to the decision of that tribunal.

This Congress is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a free India cannot bear and cannot be expected to bear. This Congress, whilst reaffirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922, therefore records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal, and every obligation, every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such tribunal to be just and justifiable.[1]

The resolution was unanimously passed.

MR. SANYAL: May I know who would constitute this tribunal?

Mahatmaji, amidst loud laughter, said:

If you want this information you may correspond in the matter. I cannot interpret it. Independent India would do that.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-1-1930 and *Young India*, 20-2-1930

349. SPEECH AT SUBJECTS COMMITTEE, A.I.C.C.-III

January 1, 1930

Mahatmaji in replying to the opposition said:

I believe you will realize the real significance of this resolution[1]. You all know Pandit Motilal Nehru had come to Lahore some days before this National Week and he came here only for two reasons, namely, for clearing the misunderstanding entertained by the Sikhs and for deciding the Punjab Congress dispute. To clear the misunderstanding, Panditji, myself and Dr. Ansari had been to see Sardar Kharag Singh, the Sikh leader, about it. Their grievance was that they were not properly treated in the Nehru Report. We discussed with the Sikhs[2] and gave them the assurance that in future if any national problem is solved on the communal basis we shall satisfy them and other minorities. At the same time I say that in an Independent India every problem is to be solved on a national basis and not on a communal basis. Still since these brothers of ours have been offended by the Nehru Report I want to satisfy them and bring them into our fold. I do not say that the moment we pass this resolution this pandal will be full with Sikhs and Muslims. If they come let us welcome them, and if they do not come still we are to carry on our battle for independence. Even if there are only five men, still we five are to attain independence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-1-1930

[1] It read: In view of the lapse of the Nehru constitution it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an Independent India the communal question can only be solved on a strictly national basis. But as the Sikhs in particular and the Muslims and other minorities in general had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned.

[2] *Vide* pp. 326-7.

350. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

[LAHORE,
January 1, 1930][1]

What is the difference between the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921 and the present movement?

The present movement is directed towards independence, whereas that of 1921 was directed towards the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the attainment of swaraj within the Empire if possible and without if necessary. The boycott is confined this time only to the legislatures, but civil disobedience including the no-tax campaign is common to both, as also truth and non-violence.[2]

The civil disobedience will be of the Bardoli type?

You mean the satyagraha of 1928? Yes, somewhat of that type; only in Bardoli the people fought for the redress of a specific local grievance.

How about the other boycotts?

It may not be necessary to resort to them if we can place civil disobedience on a proper basis.

When do you expect to succeed?

It is more than a human being can say.

Assuming that there is Chauri Chaura[3] again, would you call off civil disobedience?

I am trying to conceive a plan whereby no suspension need take place by reason of any outside disturbance—a plan whereby civil disobedience once started may go on without interruption until the goal is reached.

Have you any such plan?

I have nothing concrete before my mind at the present moment. But I think it should not be impossible to devise such a plan. I am going to leave no stone unturned. It is likely that

[1] A report in *The Statesman*, 5-1-1930, giving portions from the interview, says it was given just before Gandhiji left Lahore, that is, on January 1, 1930.

[2] What follows appeared also in *The Statesman*, 5-1-1930.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXII.

although one may take all the safeguards that it is humanly possible to do, an outbreak may occur. The plan I am trying to think out is to prevent a discontinuance in case such an event happens.

But supposing you see your mistake?

Well, then, I shall have strength enough to atone for it.

But if you cannot hit upon a plan such as you are thinking of, what would you do?

If I do not succeed in discovering such a formula, and if there is a recurrence of Chauri Chaura, I should not hesitate to stop the movement.

Young India, 30-1-1930

351. THE CULT OF THE BOMB

There is so much violence in the atmosphere immediately surrounding us, politically minded part of India, that a bomb thrown here and a bomb thrown there causes little perturbation and probably there is even joy over such an event in the hearts of some. If I did not know that this violence was like froth coming to the surface in an agitated liquid, I should probably despair of non-violence succeeding in the near future in giving us the freedom which we are all violently-minded and non-violently-minded people yearning for. Happily I have a certain belief based upon ceaseless experience during my tour in the heart of India for the past twelve months very nearly, that the vast masses who have become conscious of the fact that they must have freedom are untouched by the spirit of violence. In spite therefore of sporadic violent outbursts such as the bomb explosion under the Viceregal train I feel that non-violence for our political battle has come to stay. It is because of my increasing faith in the efficacy of non-violence in political warfare and the possibility of its being practised by masses of people that I propose to reason with those who may not be so much saturated with violence as to be beyond the pale of reason.

Let us think then for a moment what would have happened if the Viceroy had been seriously injured or killed. There certainly would have been no meeting of 23rd ultimo and therefore no certainty as to the course to be adopted by the Congress. That surely would have been, to say the least, an undersirable result. Fortunately for us the Viceroy and his party escaped

luded patriots may for want of nourishment to their violent spirit realize the futility of violence and the great harm that violent activity has every time done.

Young India, 2-1-1930

352. HINDI IN THE CONGRESS

It is our strange misfortune that we are not as familiar with the name "Mahasabha" as we are with the name "Congress". When the name Mahasabha is mentioned some take it to mean the Hindu Mahasabha and others take it for some other organization. During my tour of the United Provinces when I used the word Mahasabha for Congress I was told no one would recognize Mahasabha as the Congress. This is the influence of habit. We have got into the habit of using an English word; therefore when someone uses a Hindi word we find it difficult to understand.

Therefore, even though it is a rule that only the Hindi language should be used in the Mahasabha, it is English that is largely used. The Mahasabha notices are generally printed in English. In the Mahasabha office too English is generally used. Correspondence is carried on in English. In the lanes of Lajpat Nagar[1] wherever one looked, one found only English signboards. All this is lamentable. But the remedy for this malady is not rigorous enforcement of the rules. The remedy is love for the national language in the masses and the resultant effort. If the public wishes, it can insist on all the business of the Mahasabha being transacted in Hindi. The fact is, there is neither sufficient awakening nor enthusiasm nor love for their language in the masses.

There is one great practical difficulty in running the Mahasabha office in Hindi. President Jawaharlal Nehru has drawn the attention of the members to it. As I have already written last time,[2] in the United Provinces, Bihar and other Hindi-speaking provinces there are very few people who are willing to take up this work. Those very few who are or who can, are engaged in their own work. Be it in the Mahasabha office or in offices elsewhere, very few Hindi-speaking people are available for national work. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the work of the Mahasabha is done mostly in English only in spite of the rule about the use of the national language.

[1] The venue of the Congress session in Lahore

[2] *Vide* pp. 318-9.

Ten years ago all the work was done only in English. Now there is considerable change in the desirable direction; even then, much remains to be done. All debates and discussions in the Mahasabha should be conducted only in the national language. And there should be no need for their English translation. Two difficulties crop up in achieving this. One is that, members from Bengal, Tamilnad and other such provinces understand very little Hindi and the second is that, the speaker who wants to say something wishes to explain what he means to all. If he knows both the languages he gains his end by arguing in both of them. To overcome these difficulties there are two ways. One is that, when any member begins to speak in English, he and the President should be reminded of this. Secondly, the Bengali and Tamil brothers and sisters should declare that they have no need for English. Their duty is to learn Hindi or get the sense of the proceedings from their neighbours. The change of heart in the Bengali, Tamil and other brethren depends entirely on the love, determination and courtesy of the Hindi-speaking people. Without courtesy no work can be done. Force and compulsion will not secure for Hindi its rightful place.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 2-1-1930

353. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

Thursday [January 2][1], *1930*

CHI. MANI,

I have your two letters. I am writing this in a moving train. Do resolutely whatever you can. If the situation referred to in your second letter arises, you should go to Vile Parle or to Wardha. If you come and see me, I will explain this more fully and you will be comforted. Come on Tuesday or Wednesday, so that you will be able to bring more news from that end. Do what you can with the help of even a few women as co-workers.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL
NADIAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 70

[1] This was the only Thursday on which Gandhiji travelled by train before his arrest in 1930.

354. *YOUNG JUDGE*

A young judge has put me the following question:[1]

This question refers to the time when Gujarat was ravaged by floods and a large number of young men and other volunteers were working hard under Sardar Vallabhbhai's guidance. That a man reaps as he sows is an immutable principle which admits of no exception. The above extract is an example of how the principle can be misinterpreted. Many persons think in this way, and the question deserves consideration because I know that the correspondent has not advanced his plea merely for argument's sake. The maxim "Reap as you sow" is true for all times. Holy books in Sanskrit state the same thing, and so does the Bible. Nowhere does the maxim imply that we are to inflict on the doer what his deed deserves. The present correspondent, however, has put such a construction on the original sentence, and that has led to a terrible misunderstanding of its meaning. When we say 'man reaps as he sows', we mean that God will bestow on him his due and not that any of us might sit in God's place and mete out justice to the doer according as he thinks of the latter's deed. If we had the right to judge a man's deed and reward or punish him as the case may demand, there would be nothing left for anyone to do for anyone else. In that case, the idea of service would lose all meaning. If that idea should disappear, the world would perish. But the fact is that the world has not perished. Countless men have been rendering service to one another, correcting one another's mistakes and even forgiving one another. From this we see that the meaning of the great maxim in question is not what the correspondent conceives it to be, but it is what I have suggested above.

We do not fully know how to judge a man's action. With limited experience, we can only draw an inference about a given action. Each one of us often draws a different inference. The seven blind men in the fable came each to his own conclusion according to the elephant's limb that he could feel. Thus, though each was true in respect of his own experience of the elephant, all the seven remained ignorant and none could form a correct idea of

[1] This is not translated here. The correspondent had objected to relief work in Gujarat.

the elephant. Similarly, the justice we mete out is the justice of the blind and is therefore imperfect. Hence, it is our religious duty always to hunger after service and find fulfilment in only serving one another. To reward or punish is God's exclusive right, for He sees the past, the present and the future. There certainly exists some sentient Power that pervades this world, to whose tunes we dance, no matter whether we call the Power God, or Lord, or describe him as a principle, or whether or not we apply any epithet to it. That Power alone rewards or punishes us as our actions might deserve. In any case, we are not the Power; and so, instead of saying 'Let us give a man what he deserves', we say 'A man gets what he deserves.' It was from the realization of man's imperfection that there arose the family of virtues, such as service, generosity, love, forgiveness and non-violence. We do not, therefore, know whether the calamity suffered by Gujarat was the result of people's sin or goodness in this life or another. But certainly, those who participated in the alleviation of the suffering have done their duty and found self-fulfilment to the extent they did so. If they had put a wrong construction on the law of karma and kept to their homes with hands folded, they should have shown themselves ignorant of duty.

I hope the correspondent will now see that his statement was not merely one-sided, but was entirely mistaken, and will take care not to commit such a mistake again.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-1-1930

355. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

January 7, 1930

BHAISHRI HARIBHAU,

. . .[1] and . . .[2] had a long talk with me and said all that they wished to say. There is little worth in . . . I did not form a good opinion about . . . About . . . , I formed a better opinion. . . . admitted that they had become, and remained, fairly enslaved by physical attraction for each other. That is their condition even now. . . . says that they felt attracted while helping each other with innocent motives. . . . kept silent on this subject. She agreed to let herself be medically examined. But I doubt very much if,

[1] & [2] The names have been omitted.

when produced before a doctor, she would not run away from him. . . . says that they did not go as far as the ultimate act, being held back by shame at the thought of their guilt becoming known to you and me. I met . . .'s father. I infer from my talk with him that he may not be aware of this illicit relationship. I did not, however, think it necessary to ask him about it and make sure. I was not much impressed by him. I see from one of your articles that you believe it as proved that he is not . . . 's father. In the second article, I see that you have changed your opinion. . . . says that he is her father. I have given my decision below after considering all the facts.

1. . . . should go and live as . . .'s wife.

2. If she does not wish to do that and if she can keep herself pure, she may observe *brahmacharya*.

3. If she cannot overcome the desire for sex-gratification, she may marry some other young man.

4. Her relation with . . . ought to have been kept pure till they were married. Though both of them have claimed that their relation has remained pure, I do not believe that it is moral. If, however, the two cannot control their desire for gratification, they may openly have relations with each other. But they will not have my blessings or my consent if they adopt this course. Nor can they remain in any institution with which I am closely connected. I am afraid . . . will not be able to live without . . . I believe that she gets hysteria because of her craving for sex-gratification. . . . 's touch being impure, it increases her hysteria.

You may now act as you think best.

I have not revised this after dictating.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6069. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

356. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 8, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have a letter from you after many days. Even though I am in the Congress, I can sleep over not only postcards but even letters from my sons and daughters. What is your weight? How is your health? If you are not regular in writing your diary, try to be so and also describe in it your thoughts and feelings. One who does not conceal one's good or bad thoughts from oneself deserves compliments. One who conceals them certainly violates the vow of non-stealing. If you do not understand this idea, ask Vinoba to explain it. Tell Kamala to write to me. She, too, should write a diary. My health is fine. I have worked hard and even feel fatigued, but my health has not suffered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9273

357. LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 8, 1930

BHAISHRI NAUTAM,

Doctor[1] arrived here last evening. Immediately on arrival, he told me that he wished to have Chi. Maganlal's[2] marriage, like Ratilal's,[3] celebrated in the Ashram, and that I should write to you for that purpose. Women everywhere look forward to a wedding and wish to enjoy the occasion in various ways. If, however, you have regard for Doctor's wishes, entreat the women on my behalf and win them over. I am sure you will agree with me that, if rich parents have a truly religious ceremony for the marriage of their sons and daughters, they serve the good of the

[1] Pranjivandas Mehta

[2&3] Pranjivandas Mehta's sons

community and provide an example to the poor. I, therefore, hope that you will obtain the consent of the women and let the marriage be celebrated here. Probably you know that there is no music and dancing and no feasts on the occasion of a wedding in the Ashram. The celebration consists entirely of the religious ceremony and the dresses of the bride and the bridegroom are all of khadi.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2583

358. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 8, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I was expecting to see you even today. Prabhudas must be all right by now. I hope you continue writing your daily diary. It must not be interrupted now. Fix the date of departure for Wardha and let me know it. Are you keeping up carding?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2371

359. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

[Before *January 9, 1930*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I did not answer your last telegram. What instructions can I give from this distance? There can be nothing lacking in your attention. I am aware that Keshu[2] needs some comforting. To that end I am sending Devdas. I have little faith in medicines. But I do not interfere in the treatment of those away from me. Hence there was no need for any instructions in response to your

[1] From the contents it appears this letter was written before the one to the addressee dated January 9, 1930; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", 9-1-1930.
[2] Maganlal Gandhi's son, Keshav

telegram. My treatment is quite well known—fasting or fruit juice, sun-baths, sleeping at night in a well-ventilated room and enema in case of constipation. Many patients like Keshu have been cured by this treatment. But I do not wish to practise my theories from a distance. You can do whatever you like. Medicines should not be suggested to Keshav unless he asks for them. I hope Keshav will be out of all danger by the time this reaches you.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6179. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

360. STATEMENT TO "THE NEW YORK WORLD"

[Before *January 9, 1930*][1]

The world should realize that as Congressional representatives, Pandit Motilal Nehru, leader of the Nationalists in the Legislative Assembly, and I could only treat the Viceregal pronouncement about Dominion Status in India as a response to the Calcutta Congress resolutlon of 1928.[2] We were bound, therefore, in pursuance of that resolution to press for a clear declaration that the proposed Round Table Conference would consider only ways and means of framing a scheme for a Dominion Status constitution and no other. This the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, could not do. While, therefore, we appreciated his good efforts and his difficulties, we had no course left open but to decline to have Congress represented at the proposed Conference. The Conference, so far as Congress was concerned, having miscarried, the independence resolution[3] need frighten nobody. I had repeatedly declared that for me, as for all other Congressmen, Dominion Status could mean only virtual independence; that is partnership at will for mutual benefit and to be dissolved at the instance of either partner. It only clears the issue, especially after Secretary of State for India, Wedgwood Benn's unfortunate statement that India already had a Dominion Status in action.

The real cause for satisfaction to lovers of peace consists in the fact that through the full debate Congress supported methods of non-violence and truth, to the exclusion of other methods. Civil

[1] The statement was published in *The New York World*, 9-1-1930.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 283-96.
[3] *Vide* p. 345.

disobedience is a dynamic expression of non-violence. It is undoubtedly fraught with great danger and difficulties, but infinitely less so than the present danger of unbridled but secret violence breaking out in many parts of India, owing to understandable and pardonable impatience on the part of many youths. Responsibility for initiating civil disobedience rests on me and I am not likely rashly to embark upon it. At the same time I must confess that I shall not hesitate to run a certain minimum of risk which is inevitable in any struggle for freedom. The risk for prolonging the present agony caused by the realized slavery here is any day much greater than I am ever likely to run.

The boycott of legislatures is also part of the programme for enforcing the national demand. This was a natural corollary to the independence resolution, and I am glad to say it is finding an adequate response from Congressmen. A constructive programme such as removal of untouchability, communal union, liquor prohibition, and the boycott of foreign cloth remains. These have tremendous social and economic value and also bear great political consequences. The Nehru constitution, with its tentative communal solution, naturally lapses.

Congress, therefore, will concentrate on solving the communal question, not on differential lines, but on strictly national lines. There was also a resolution on financial obligations.[1] It need not disturb any foreigner who has a legitimate interest in India. It should be remembered that there are always, under any foreign Government, obligations incurred and concessions granted that are in no way in the interest of the country concerned, and are indeed often hostile to it. These can never be acknowledged by successors who are free to examine every such obligation and concession. Congress has offered investigation of these by an independent tribunal. Lastly, the door against a conference purposely convened to satisfy national aspirations, that is, to frame a scheme of independence has been left open.

The Hindu, 25-3-1930

361. NOTES

The Late Mazhar-ul-Haq

Mazhar-ul-Haq was a great patriot, a good Mussalman and a philosopher. Fond of ease and luxury, when Non-co-operation came he threw them off as we throw superfluous scales off the skin. He grew as fond of the ascetic life as he was of princely life. Growing weary of our dissentions, he lived in retirement, doing such unseen services as he could, and praying for the best. He was fearless both in speech and action. The Sadakat Ashram near Patna is a fruit of his constructive labours. Though he did not live in it for long as he had intended, his conception of the Ashram made it possible for the Bihar Vidyapith to find a permanent habitation. It may yet prove a cement to bind the two communities together. Such a man would be missed at all times; he will be the more missed at this juncture in the history of the country. I tender my condolences to Begum Mazhar-ul-Haq and her family.

Prohibition Campaign

At the Temperance Conference in Lahore one of the resolutions adopted was as follows:[1]

It is a matter for sorrow that in a country like India, where drink is almost universally admitted to be a vice, there are respectable newspapers enough to be found to take advertisements for the sake of spirituous liquor whilst their editorial columns favour total prohibition. I hope that the resolution of the Conference will move the newspapers concerned to stop taking the offending advertisements. There may be the question of contracts made with advertisers. Since the proprietors of the newspapers concerned have wronged the nation in taking the advertisements, it is not too much to expect them to part with a portion of the ill-gotten profits in paying for such damages as may be necessary for ending contracts before their times.

Young India, 9-1-1930

[1] The resolution is not reproduced here. It demanded immediate ban on the display of liquor advertisements in public places and newspapers.

362. THE CONGRESS

PRESIDENT

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru more than justified the choice of the people. His address brief and to the point was bold, extreme in conception but moderate in expression. It bore evidence of a man capable of viewing things with complete detachment. A confirmed socialist, he wants for his country only what the country can manage. He is a practical statesman tempering his ideals to suit his surroundings. But for himself he is an idealist who would ever strive to live up to his ideals.

As in his address, so in the chair. He was strong, yet accommodating. His wit came to his rescue on many an awkward occasion. He never hesitated when action was required. His tireless energy and entire self-forgetfulness, his natural simplicity and affability captivated everyone. No Government that is at all anxious to do what is right can have any reason to fear Jawaharlal Nehru. A wicked Government would soon feel the strength of a stalwart who counts no price too dear to pay for ridding the country of wicked rule.

The youth of the country has every reason to be proud of their representative, the nation may well rejoice to find in Jawaharlal Nehru such a noble and worthy son. May God's blessings descend upon him and may the nation reach her destination during Jawaharlal's year of service.

INDEPENDENCE

The resolutions[1] of the Congress strictly followed the trend of the Presidential address. Let us first consider the central resolution[2]. In strict accordance with the Calcutta resolution[3] and owing to a combination of circumstances undesigned by anybody, Dominion Status gave place at the stroke of midnight 31st December 1929 to complete independence as the immediate objective of the Congress. Swaraj in article 1 of the Congress constitution is now to mean complete independence. It is as well. Apart from the Calcutta resolution, Mr. Benn's statement that India already had

[1] *Vide* pp. 320-2.
[2] *Vide* p. 345.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 283-96.

Dominion Status in action made that phrase impossible of acceptance to convey the nation's meaning. If representation, at important functions, of India through representatives chosen by the British Gvernment, means Dominion Status in action, Heaven help India. The Congress means something totally different from it. For the Congress, Dominion Status meant complete indpendence plus voluntary partnership with Britain as it might be with any other nation for mutual good. Lastly it has been of late loudly whispered that independence was illegal, and a resolution replacing Dominion Status with independence would mean the death of the Congress. This threat made it a sacred obligation for the Congress to incorporate complete independence in the Congress creed. The Congress would not be worthy to represent the nation if, for fear of consequences, it hesitated to enunciate the nation's birthright. If swaraj was a doubtful word, it becomes unequivocal by becoming *purna* swaraj.

'Peaceful and Legitimate'

But the Congress rejected by an overwhelming majority any change in the description of the means. They still remain 'peaceful and legitimate'. There were members in the Subjects Committee who suggested that independence would not be vindicated by non-violent and truthful means. Violence there undoubtedly was in the air. But I feel that those who flock to the Congress session year by year have a living faith in non-violence as the only possible means for India at least to regain her lost freedom. Non-violence and truth are the vital need for India if the stupor of the millions is to be removed, if the warring communities are to be welded into one. A foreign power must be a necessary factor for any community that will coerce any other or the others into submission to its will. But the Congress must perforce remain non-violent if it will represent, as it claims to represent, all communities. Whether therefore it takes a year or ages to reach political independence, non-violence and truth are in my opinion the shortest way to it. Complete independence of the Congress is no menace to a single legitimate foreign interest or the presence of a single Englishman who will live as a friend willing to submit to the rules applicable to the whole of independent India.

This is clear from the condemnation of the bomb resolution and the clause in the central resolution appreciating the efforts of the Viceroy to arrive at a peaceful solution of the national problem. Both the bomb resolution and the clause were hotly contested, but the Congress accepted both, the one by a substantial majority

ascertained after a division and the second by an overwhelming majority. I am sure that by passing the resolution and the clause the nation has conformed to its creed, and risen in the estimation of the world, as it would have denied its creed and lost in the world's estimation if it had refused to condemn the bomb outrage and perform the common courtesy of recognizing the good even in a representative of a rule which we seek to destroy.

Boycott of Legislatures

To the constructive programme the Congress has added boycott of legislatures. This was in my opinion inevitable. Those who would have independence have to work outside the legislatures and among the people. That no single seat will remain vacant because of Congressmen withdrawing from the legislatures is no reason for opposing the boycott. Let those who believe in the legislatures by all means go there. It is enough that Congressmen employ themselves otherwise and cease to give those bodies any prestige through their presence there. For me the decisive opinion of Pandit Motilalji in favour of boycott was enough to incorporate it in the resolution.

The programme would have been undoubtedly strengthened if law-courts and Government schools were also boycotted. But the atmosphere was absent. The Congress is not an organization to enunciate theories, but to anticipate national wants and wishes, and forge practical sanctions for their fulfilment.

Local bodies stand on a different footing. They were included in the original draft. But as opinion was sharply divided, I did not press for their retention in the boycott clause. Let no one however run away with the idea that it is now any Congressman's duty to seek election to or capture these institutions. On the contrary it is the duty of every Congressman to retire from or avoid them, if they take away best workers' attention from better work or if they mean continuous wrangling, dissensions or worse. They are at liberty to remain in them or seek election thereto when they are convinced that by their presence there, they can promote not merely some legitimate interest but national independence.

Civil Disobedience

The greatest and the most effective sanction however is civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. Whilst the task of choosing the time and the method of it has been nominally and properly left to the All-India Congress Committee to decide, I know that it is a duty primarily devolving upon me. I must confess that I do not see the atmosphere for it today. I want

to discover a formula whereby sufficient provision can be made for avoiding suspension by reason of Chauri Chaura. A time must come when there my be a fight to the finish with one's back to the wall. With the present temper of many Congressmen, with our internal dissensions, with the communal tension, it is difficult to discover an effective and innocent formula. It may be impossible to offer civil disobedience at this stage in the name of the Congress, and it may be necessary to offer individual civil disobedience without the Congress *imprimatur* and apart from it. But just now everything is in the embryonic state. I can only give the impatient patriot the assurance, that I am concentrating all my powers on discovering a workable formula. He can help me materially by assisting to promote a non-violent atmosphere and to push forward the constructive programme. I know that many have refused to see any connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience. But for one who believes in non-violence it does not need hard thinking to realize the essential connection between the constructive programme and civil disobedience for swaraj. I want the reader to mark the qualification. Constructive programme is not essential for local civil disobedience for specific relief as in the case of Bardoli. Tangible common grievance restricted to a particular locality is enough. But for such an indefinable thing as swaraj people must have previous training in doing things of all-India interest. Such work must throw together the people and their leaders whom they would trust implicitly. Trust begotten in the pursuit of continuous constructive work becomes a tremendous asset at the critical moment. Constructive work therefore is for a non-violent army what drilling, etc., is for an army designed for bloody warfare. Individual civil disobedience among an unprepared people and by leaders not known to or trusted by them is of no avail, and mass civil disobedience is an impossibility. The more therefore the progress of the constructive programme, the greater is there the chance for civil disobedience. Granted a perfectly non-violent atmosphere and a fulfilled constructive programme, I would undertake to lead a mass civil disobedience struggle to a successful issue in the space of a few months.

'In the Existing Circumstances'

Whilst thus the central resolution lays down the country's objective and the methods for its attainment in no uncertain terms, it does not rule out the idea of a conference in every circumstance. It merely and most properly says, that 'in the existing circumstances' no good purpose can be served by the

Congress being represented at the proposed Conference. What are then the conceivable circumstances in which the Congress may be represented at such a conference? I can mention at least one such circumstance. If the British Government invites the Congress to a conference, that is to discuss and frame not any scheme but a scheme definitely of independence Government, and fulfils the other conditions suitable for such a conference, I take it that the Congress leaders will gladly respond. Indeed a conference there must be at some stage or other. It can take place as the proposed Conference was expected to take place out of Britain's good grace or/and pressure of world opinion, or out of pressure from us as we hope it will be if we develop sufficient strength. Whether such a time is to be far or near depends upon how we utilize or waste this year of grace.

Our Financial Obligations

Next in importance and almost part of the central resolution must be deemed the one dealing with our financial obligations.[1] Everyone who knows anything of public finance knows how extravagant this Government is and how heavy is the load of debts that is crushing the nation. Everyone knows also what concessions have been given to foreigners in utter disregard of the national interest. These cannot demand, dare not expect recognition from independent India under the much abused name of vested interests. All vested interests are not entitled to protection. The keeper of a gambling den or of a brothel has no vested interest. Nor has a corporation that gambles away the fortunes of a nation and reduces it to impotence. The Congress at Gaya[2] therefore passed a comprehensive resolution repudiating certain debts. The last, whilst reaffirming the Gaya resolution, laid down that obligations or concessions pronounced to be unjust and unjustifiable by an independent tribunal shall not be recognized by the independence Government to come. No exception can, in my opinion, be possibly taken against such a reasonable proposition. To shirk the issue is to invite disaster.

Communal Question

Equally important is the communal resolution[3]. Though it was adopted for the sake of the Sikhs, it was necessary other-

[1] *Vide* p. 358.
[2] In 1922
[3] *Vide* p. [illegible]

wise too to enunciate the principles underlying it. Independent India cannot afford to have communal representation, and yet it must placate all communities if the rule of independence is not based on coercion of minorities. But the Congress has now to cultivate a spirit of common nationality and refuse to resort to camouflage or expedience in a matter so vital as the communal question. In the Congress we must cease to be exclusive Hindus or Mussalmans or Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews. Whilst we may staunchly adhere to our respective faiths, we must be in the Congress Indians first and Indians last. A good Hindu or a good Mussalman should be a better Hindu or a better Mussalman for being a lover of his country. There never can be any conflict between the real interest of one's country and that of one's religion. Where there appears to be any, there is something wrong with one's religion, i.e., one's morals. True religion means good thought and good conduct. True patriotism also means good thought and good conduct. To set up a comparison between two synonymous things is wrong. But if the Congress is ever forced to consider a solution based on communalism, the resolution binds it to reject any that does not satisfy the parties concerned. In order however that the Congress may never be faced with a situation demanding a communal solution, it should now be joined in large numbers by Mussalmans, Sikhs and others who will have India as one indivisible nation. I for one would welcome the Congress passing into Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, Jewish hands rather than that it should be in any sense a sectional organization. Anyone who has the spirit of service in him can capture the Congress. It has the most democratic franchise. Its doors are ever open to those who would serve. Let all join it and make it a mighty instrument for gaining complete independence for the poorest, the weakest and the most downtrodden. I must defer the consideration of other resolutions and the other matters relating to this remarkable Congress to a future issue[1], if not the next.

Young India, 9-1-1930

363. MR. PENNINGTON THE EVERGREEN

My remarks on the Congress[1] are a fitting answer to this letter[2]. We must be the judges of our own wants, not Englishmen, however well-intentioned they may be.

Young India, 9-1-1930

364. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal[3] Nehru has proved to be a jewel of India. In his address lofty thoughts are couched in sweet and courteous language. Several topics have been dealt with thoroughly and yet the address is short. The splendour of the soul shines in every sentence. The apprehension that lurked in many hearts disappeared after the oration. As was the address, so was his deportment. During the Congress session he did all his work independently and impartially. And since he worked incessantly and strenuously everything was completed on time and without any hitch.

If under the Presidentship of such a brave and righteous young man we can achieve nothing it will greatly surprise me. But if the ranks are unworthy, what can the brave captain do? Therefore, we should do some introspection. Are we fit to be under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru? If we are, then the outcome must be propitious. Liberty cannot be secured merely by proclaiming it. An atmosphere of liberty must be created within us. Liberty is one thing, and licence another. Many a time we confuse licence for liberty and lose the latter. Licence leads one to selfishness whereas liberty guides one to supreme good. Licence destroys society, liberty gives it life. In licence propriety is sacrificed; in liberty it is fully cherished. Under slavery we practise several virtues out of fear; when liberated we practise them of our own free will.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Not reproduced here. Referring to Gandhiji's article "Honest Differences", pp. 192-5, Pennington had written that the evils of British rule had been exaggerated and immediate independence for India was an impossibility.

[3] Literally, 'jawahar' means jewel

A slave will not steal out of fear, will not quarrel with anyone, will not lie and will appear honest. He will be protected from dacoits and others by his master. A slave does not exercise his free will in whatever he does. A free man's thoughts and actions are identical. Whether for good or for evil he acts of his own free will. Therefore, a free man reaps the full benefits of his good actions, and when this happens society progresses from day to day. A free man will not fail in his duty of protecting others.

Therefore, if we have understood true freedom, we will shed communal fear. Hindus and Muslims will cease to fear one another. If both could shed fear at the same time all the better; but a free spirit should not expect the help of others to cast off fear. If the other side violates justice, even then he would not seek the help of a third party. He will depend only on his own strength, and if he loses, he will try to augment his own strength. To die fighting is itself victory, it is one's duty. To run away from the fight is slavery and humiliation. Real freedom is impossible without the spirit of a true Kshatriya. Therefore, the unique quality of a Kshatriya is considered to be his determination never to shrink from a battle. For this reason we too, in everything we do, must never run away from the battlefield.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 9-1-1930

365. *LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 9, 1930

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I received your cheque for Rs. 345. The sum will be used as desired by you. I hope both of you keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7543

366. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 9, 1930

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter has arrived. Devdas writes that Keshu is receiving loving attention from you all. So writes Radhabehn too. What more can I say in this matter? The treatment too conforms more or less to what I would have wished. Enough; it would be discourteous to write anything further on this subject. I am free from all anxiety.

The Lahore resolutions are very much to my liking. And my opinion is further strengthened by the current happenings. Go through what I have written in *Young India*[1] and offer whatever comments you think fit. You have every right to express your views and offer advice.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6180. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

367. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

January 10, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Here is my draft resolution or declaration[2] for 26th instant. I have nothing as yet from anybody. But I thought I would not now wait till the last moment. You will cut it up or extend and amend it as you like. The shorter the sweeter.

Ever since we have separated at Lahore, I have been evolving schemes of civil disobedience. I have not seen my way clear as yet. But I have come so far that, in the present state of the Congress, no civil disobedience can be or should be offered in its name and that it should be offered by me alone or jointly with a few companions even as I did in South Africa if you have studied

[1] *Vide* pp. 374-9.
[2] *Vide* the following item.

the History of Satyagraha[1]. If you have not, you should. If I do finally see my way clear, I shall think out what part the Congress can play in that event. All this, however, I have no time to discuss through correspondence. If I make further progress, I shall let you know. If you have any remarks to offer, please let me know. In any case prepare yourself to come here a day or two earlier than the Working Committee meeting day. Of course you can come earlier still . . .[2] before 26th inst. if necessary.

I hope father is going to Bengal on the appointed day.

I am most anxious to come to grips during your year of office, but that strictly according to my lights. Please therefore feel free to criticize whatever I say or suggest. I want to do nothing that would cross your purpose or thwart your plans, if you have conceived any independently. The more I think, the more convinced I feel that it was a happy thing for the country that I did not become President. I would have felt hampered in maturing plans in complete detachment. As it is, I cannot conceive a more favourable opportunity for me for making my experiment than when you are the helmsman of the Congress.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Since writing this, I have your letter[3]. In view of what I have said above, I must not go out. The one who may travel through a few places with effect is father. The weight that he can carry in the matter of the councils boycott is not to be rivalled by anybody. Can he go?

[1] *Satyagraha in South Africa*; *vide* Vol. XXIX.

[2] Illegible

[3] Which read: ". . . I shall expect your statement and resolution for the 26th in a few days. Could you also add some directions for the observance of the day? . . . I enclose a letter from Rajagopalachari. I think there is something in what he says. There are so many statements and counter-statements in the Press that the issues are likely to be clouded. Personally I dislike touring on a big scale but if you think I should rush about I shall do so. Rajagopalachari's idea that we may get some of the non-Congress members out of the legislatures seems to me to be amazingly optimistic. . . . But even apart from the council boycott it seems desirable to make the country feel that we are in earnest. If we remain quiet for some weeks it may have a bad effect. . . ." (S.N. 16335)

After reading your notes[1], I did think it necessary to alter my draft.

BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

368. DRAFT DECLARATION FOR JANUARY 26[2]

[*January 10, 1930*][3]

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *purna* swaraj or complete independence.

India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than 2 pence) per day. The taxes we pay are 2.5 pies per day and of these the land revenue derived from the peasantry is 20% and the salt tax, which falls heaviest on the poor, is 3% of the total.

Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports and customs revenue from these, which ought to have been used to lessen the burden of taxation on the masses, is 44 times lighter in India than it is in Russia and 44[4] times and 24[5] times, respectively, less heavy than it

[1] On exploitation of India by England (S.N. 16335)

[2] For the final declaration, *vide* "Things to Remember for 26th", 23-1-1930.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

[4]&[5] For the correction of these figures, *vide* "Telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru", 16-1-1930.

is in the United States of America and Germany. The arbitrary manipulation of the exchange ratio has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.[1]

Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. No reform has given real political power to the people.

Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We hold it to be a crime against men and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions, issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing *purna* swaraj.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] All the figures quoted in this paragraph relate to the year 1904. For the changes made by Gandhiji, *vide* "Telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru", 17-1-1930.

369. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

SABARMATI,
January 10, 1930

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I have your touching letter. This death[1] at this time in our history is a blow indeed. I hope my wire was received by Begum Saheba. Tell her please that she must not grieve. We must all bravely bear an event which is the common destiny of all life.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5074

370. A LETTER

SABARMATI,
January 10, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a letter from Abbas Saheb. I do feel that if you can possibly avoid attending the Governor's function, you should do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: MMU/XXII/66

371. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

January 11, 1930

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND[2],

I thank you for your letter. I shall certainly bear in mind what you say.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5580

[1] Of Mazhar-ul-Haq; *vide* p. 373.
[2] Advocate, High Court, Lahore

372. SPEECH AT GUJARAT VIDYAPITH CONVOCATION

January 11, 1930[1]

Sjt. Narendra Dev just told you, "You are eager to serve the nation. You are pure in heart, brave and self-sacrificing. Being eager for national service, you will prove your mettle one way or another upon entering worldly life." I wish that all his praise should be well deserved. But my experience leads me to ask you to be pure and remain pure. Let not the vow you just took remain on paper, but inscribe it in your hearts and let the people's money and the teachers' energy spent after you be fruitful. My blessings of course always go with the students.

Sjt. Vallabhbhai and Kaka Kalelkar are holding forth their begging bowl before the public. Their appeal for contributions is not to be seen in any of the English papers, for their aim is to see how Gujarat views its special duty to the Vidyapith. My hope was that by now all the sixty thousand asked for would have been collected. If this national work is to progress speedily, people should set our national workers free from anxiety in the matter of money. The citizens of Ahmedabad by themselves can do this if they mean it. If this is done, the teachers can give their whole attention to their proper work. In the Vidyapith we require ability more than numbers. Behind the introduction of the civil disobedience and behind the resolution as a whole, lay the confidence that some students at least would play their part well and bring us success.

The Congress at its Calcutta session had resolved that if the Dominion Status of Pandit Nehru's scheme was not granted within a year's time, a resolution demanding independence would be passed even at the risk of incurring the world's censure. If the choice is between independence and Dominion Status, even a person like me would prefer independence.[2]

You will naturally expect me to say something about the independence resolution passed at the Lahore Congress, especially the civil disobedience part of it, and you will want to know what

[1] From Bombay Secret Abstracts

[2] This and the preceding two paragraphs are translated from the Gujarati in *Prajabandhu*, 12-1-1930. What follows is from *Young India*.

is going to be your share in the struggle. Well, as I have often said here, we rely not on numerical strength, but on the strength of character, and the civil disobedience resolution was moved more because I had faith in a few men sacrificing themselves for the cause than in the number of men coming forward in response to the call. You know that the Calcutta resolution pledged us to changing the first article of the Congress constitution and preparing for a programme of civil disobedience, provided Dominion Status was not forthcoming by the end of 1929. This not having been fulfilled, there was nothing for us but to carry out the pledge even at the risk of adverse criticism and misrepresentation. Events that have happened after the resolution have added force to it. Earl Russell[1] has given us plainly to understand that India's Dominion Status is something different from what we have always believed it to be, viz., a status allied to that of Canada, New Zealand and Australia. These, the noble Earl admits, are virtually independent. I never had anything else in mind when I talked of Dominion Status for India. What Earl Russell says is tantamount to saying that instead of being in the iron chains that India has been in for years, she may now have the choice of changing them for golden ones. And some of us seem to hug the proposal. We are so very much fear-stricken that a severance of the British connection means to us violence and chaos. Well, I want to make myself clear once more. Votary as I am of non-violence, if I was given a choice between being a helpless witness to chaos and perpetual slavery, I should unhesitatingly say that I would far rather be witness to chaos in India, I would far rather be witness to Hindus and Mussalmans doing one another to death than that I should daily witness our gilded slavery. To my mind golden shackles are far worse than iron ones, for one easily feels the irksome and galling nature of the latter and is prone to forget the former. If therefore India must be in chains, I would they were of iron rather than of gold or other precious metals.

The spectre of an Afghan invasion is raised in certain quarters the moment we talk of independence. Well I don't mind the invasion when we have severed our slavish connection with Britain. But I am an incorrigible optimist, and my faith in India winning her freedom by a bloodless revolution is unshakable. We have a helmsman like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and I do not think we are ever going to have a better young man as our President. Would

[1] Under-Secretary of State for India

that we achieved our goal whilst he has the reins of our affairs in his hands. And I think it is quite possible, if you will be true to your pledge. I would like to see the graduates of this Vidyapith in the front in any campaign for swaraj. I want you to visualize what is coming. You have a harder ordeal than going to jail. Robbers, dacoits and murderers also can go to jail, and they make themselves thoroughly at home there. But they do not serve the country by going to jail. A mere jail going man does not help the country. What I want from you is the preparedness to offer yourselves willing and pure sacrifices in the struggle. There is a lot of violence in the air, and you will have to immolate yourselves in the flames, if there are violent outbursts when and if I am put into jail. If you are true to your pledge of truth and non-violence, you will not hide yourselves in your houses whilst violence or incendiarism is going on, nor will you be active participators in it, but you will go and rush into the conflagration with a view to extinguishing it. For surely that will be expected of you. Even the votaries of violence will expect that and nothing else from you. Vice pays a homage to virtue, and sometimes the way it chooses is to expect virtue not to fall from its pedestal even whilst vice is rampant round about.

You will be ready of course to march to jail, but I do not think you will be called upon to go to jail. The higher and severer ordeal I have just now pictured to you awaits you. I do not know what form civil disobedience is to take, but I am desperately in search of an effective formula.

If you have become indifferent to constructive work, overcome your indifference. Get rid of any violence and untruth that may be present in it. We must do something and show concrete results this year, and the responsibility for this rests on me in the country. All expect that I shall succeed in the task. I also have the faith that I can do so. I am saying this not to fill you with enthusiasm, but in order to wake you up. Rest assured that tomorrow will see something achieved.[1]

I am impatient to reach the goal if we can through non-violence and truth. I have infinite patience to wait, if we cannot reach the goal without the sacrifice of non-violence and truth. Both spring from my unshakable faith in the supremacy of non-violence

[1] This paragraph is translated from the Gujarati in *Prajabandhu*, 12-1-1930. What follows is from *Young India*.

and truth. I know that however long the route may appear, it is in my opinion the shortest.

Young India, 16-1-1930 and *Prajabandhu*, 12-1-1930

373. WELLS AND PONDS[1]

As in the past, so in the present also a person wanting to found a village would first look for water. If there exists no proper facility to obtain water or it is not possible to create it, he would give up all thought of founding a village at the place. In South India we come across dry, though otherwise beautiful, regions where no villages can be founded for want of water. Man's first elementary need is air, for which one does not have to go in search. The next is water. Though it cannot be obtained as easily as we get air, the getting of water does not involve the amount of labour needed for producing grain. However, the water we use has to be as clean as the air or food we take in.

We all know that the villagers are ignorant of this requirement, or are indifferent to it though they know it. Education in the uses of water, therefore, has an important place in the programme for rural education entrusted to the *gramsevaks*[2]. Imparting education in the subject will test the *sevak's* patience. It is not to be expected that the villagers would of themselves take pains to think out or employ ways and means of keeping the water clean. Slowly we should teach the villagers the advantages of keeping water clean and the rules to be observed for doing so. We should also get their assistance in this work. In several places, it happens that none of the inhabitants comes forward to help though the work is for their own benefit. In such circumstances, the only way open to the *sevak* is to work hard by himself and, by doing single-handed as much as he can, to induce in the villagers a feeling of shame for their unhelpful behaviour.

Let us now go a little into the details of what we might do. Many of the villages have only one pond, where the cattle drink and people bathe or wash, cleanse utensils and wash clothes, and people fetch the water for drinking and cooking from the same pond. Experts on hygiene have demonstrated through numerous experiments how poisonous germs are born in such water and diseases like cholera result from drinking it. With a

[1] This appeared in the *Shikshan ane Sahitya* supplement.

[2] Workers engaged in village uplift

little care, it is possible to keep such ponds clean. The village pond should be enclosed so that no cattle can approach it. Of course there should be a provision for them to drink water. For that purpose there should be built a separate drinking trough near the pond as we find done near many of the wells. If everyone in the village makes it a point every day to fetch and add to it a potful of water from the pond, the daily requirement of the cattle would be met without much difficulty.

Never should utensils be cleansed or clothes washed in a pond from which drinking water is drawn. There are two ways to ensure this. Everyone should do the washing at home with the water fetched for domestic use. The other way is to have a water tank just near the pond. Everyone should fetch and put into the tank his share of the water needed for this kind of work. Then the tank water may be used for washing and cleansing by the village population. This would be possible only if there exists among the villagers a spirit of co-operation and mutual service. If it is not feasible to get the tank and the drinking trough filled through personal labour in the way I have described, this could be done by incurring a little expense on that account. As water is bound to get spilt and spread at a washing place, the immediate open space around should be paved so that no mud gets formed there. Before any utensil is dipped into the pond of drinking water, it ought to have been cleansed outside the pond. Moreover, there should be an arrangement so that the feet of the person fetching water do not have to wade through any part of the pond. This is about the villages that have one pond only.

In some villages there are, or it is possible to have, more than one pond. At such a place the pond for drinking water should be set apart for the purpose.

In the third category of villages there are wells. The water in these wells ought to be kept clean. With that view, the place should have an enclosure built around it and no mud should form there. From time to time the well water should be cleaned to remove the dross at the bottom. To get all this done by the village inhabitants, the *sevak* should himself be prepared to do it. This is cheap, true and necessary education.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-1-1930

374. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SABARMATI,
January 12, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I omitted to reply when I wrote to you[1] to your important question about 26th instant. I think there should be nothing mentioned about processions. We do not want the people to hold processions under licences, nor do we want them to hold them without. The only thing, therefore, they should do is to hold meetings and devote the day, if possible, to enlisting members. I do not think that speeches are necessary or advisable. I am anxious to avoid anticipation of a crisis. I would value perfect calm for ushering in civil disobedience. I am writing about this in *Young India*.[2]

I hope you received my draft declaration in good time.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

375. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SABARMATI,
January 12, 1930

DEAR BROTHER,

This is to ask you if you can depute someone to go to South Africa and take charge of *Indian Opinion*. Manilal is here with his wife. They would both like to be in India now. Manilal is by no means a brilliant or even passable editor. Devdhar[3] was at one time thinking of sending someone. If you think that the proposal is at all feasible, please let me know.

I do hope you are not over-angry with me for my doings in Lahore. I have but followed the inner voice. I saw no other

[1] On January 10, 1930; *vide* pp. 382-3.
[2] *Vide* "Independence Day", 16-1-1930.
[3] G. K. Devdhar of the Servants of India Society

honourable way out. Russell's speech[1] has justified the decision, i.e., in my opinion of course. But I know that we can love one another in spite of sharp differences of opinion.

And how are you now in body?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

Letters of Srinivasa Sastri, p. 189

376. LETTER TO RAMI PAREKH

SABARMATI,
January 12, 1930

CHI. RAMI[2],

I suppose I should not expect any letter from you. Ba yearns to see you. I, on the other hand, get no time even to think about you all. But I too wish that you should come and pay a visit, if Kunvarji permits you and you feel inclined. Just now Ba has gone to Vijapur. She will return in a few days. Manilal is here, and Sushila too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9713

377. LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 12, 1930

BHAISHRI NAUTAMLAL,

I got your letter. I showed it to Doctor. He was happy. I hope you will succeed in your effort.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SJT. NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI
JETPUR, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2582

[1] He was reported to have said at a Labour Party meeting at Cambridge that none knew better than Indians themselves how very foolish it was to talk of complete independence.

[2] Harilal Gandhi's daughter and wife of Kunvarji Parekh

378. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 12, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. If Prabhudas and Uttamchand are fit to travel, escort them here *via* the branch line and then proceed to Wardha. Devdas says that Prabhudas need not be detained there till his arrival. Assure Prabhudas that there is no harm in continuing with the powders prescribed by the vaidya.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2372

379. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AHMEDABAD,
January 13, 1930

WIRE IF TEXT CELEBRATION DECLARATION[1] RECEIVED AND APPROVED. WISH PUBLISH FORTHCOMING "YOUNG INDIA". IF MANY CHANGES MADE WIRE TEXT TO REACH TOMORROW MORNING.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

380. SPEECH AT ALL-INDIA NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD[2]

January 13, 1930[3]

The Vidyapith owes its origin to the non-co-operation movement, and, as I said some years ago, the object of the Vidyapith is the attainment of swaraj. All those studying in national educational institutions and connected with them must do all the things

[1] *Vide* pp. 384-5.

[2] Published in *Young India*, 23-1-1930, under the caption "Not a Policy But Creed"

[3] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-1-1930

that the country has to do, and must go through the same discipline as the country has to go through for the attainment of swaraj, so that they may be ready to offer themselves willing sacrifices when the time comes.

Ours is a movement of self-purification. There are some who think that morality has nothing to do with politics. We do not concern ourselves with the character of our leaders. The democracies of Europe and America steer clear of any notion of morality having anything to do with politics. Bad characters are often great intellects, and they can manage certain affairs well enough by the force of their intellect. The private character of some of the leading men of the House of Commons will not bear examination. We too have often carried on our political movement in the same fashion, we did not concern ourselves with the morals of the Congress delegates or leaders. But in 1920 we struck an entirely new departure and we declared that since truth and non-violence were the sole means to be employed by the Congress to reach its goal, self-purification was necessary even in political life.

Today there is not much open opposition to the idea, though there are many who secretly believe that politics should have nothing to do with morality. That is why our progress is so slow and in some respect even nil. If we had acted up to our creed of 1920, we should not have taken nine years to arrive even at the present stage. If swaraj was not meant to civilize us, and to purify and stabilize our civilization, it would be nothing worth. The very essence of our civilization is that we give a paramount place to morality in all our affairs, public or private. And as one of the functions of the Vidyapith is to civilize us, the battle of swaraj calls for the greatest sacrifice from the national educational institutions.

I want you all to realize the implications of our creed. If you think that truth and non-violence constitute not the *creed* but the *policy* of the Congress, I do not know where I should be. But if you are convinced that they are your personal creed, I need not expatiate on them. The very fact that a person belongs to the Vidyapith should be sufficient guarantee of his truthfulness and non-violence. The first thing therefore that this national educational conference and those who are attending it should do is to ask themselves whether all their doings have been in consonance with that creed. If you have gone about your work, following truth and non-violence as a policy, there will come a day when you might be tempted to alter the policy. For instance my friends the Ali Brothers accepted truth and non-violence as a policy, and

they never made a secret of it. They always said that they could not accept them as a creed. There are many others of their way of thinking, and they undoubtedly have their place in the service of the country, but for you, students and teachers of national educational institutions, that attitude will not suffice. You must accept both the principles as your creed and they should be part and parcel of your being. If all make of ahimsa a policy, and I remain the only votary of it as a creed, we can make very little progress. Let us therefore ask ourselves once again, and make sure, that we will in no circumstances harbour untruth and violence for the attainment of swaraj. Then everything will be well.

The constructive programme has sprung out of the creed of truth and non-violence. Let us examine every item of it. Hindu-Muslim unity will be impossible so long as the Hindu cherishes violence against the Mussalman and the Mussalman against the Hindu. The Congress resolution at Lahore on the communal question was a corollary to the creed. The Sikhs wanted bare justice, but the resolution, as you will have noticed, has gone further, and it is meant not only for the Sikhs but for all the communities of India.

Then take the removal of untouchability. While talking of this question, some think of removing physical untouchability, some talk of the removal of the so-called untouchables' disabilities as regards the use of public wells, schools and temples. But you should go much further. You should love them even as yourselves so that the moment they see you they might feel that you are one of them. Then and then only will you be able to have their co-operation in the constructive programme.

The same is the case with prohibition. Also with the khadi programme. But need I talk about it here? This work is so concrete and tangible that a man who maintains a regular diary of his day's work can give a clear account of how much he has added to the national wealth. If we had approached the task in that spirit we should have made considerable headway by now. The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee has told us what we have been able to achieve even by means of our very little work of last year. To my mind it is trifling, but if all of us had done the thing with a will and an active faith, what would have been the result? We badly need true and efficient workers. But I know that even amongst you there are quite a number of men in whom the will and therefore the capacity are both lacking. We

have to shed our inertia, our want of faith, and the capacity will follow as a matter of course.

I have told you what to do. I shall tell you now something as to what not to do. Literary training, scholarly research and linguistic pursuits, study of English and Sanskrit and fine arts had better take a back seat. All our national schools ought to be converted into factories of our national ammunition, viz., constructive work. There are millions of children in India today who have to go without any education, much less national education and the other big things I have mentioned. Why then can't *we* do without them until at any rate we have won our freedom?

The Working Committee has appealed to the country to enlist members and volunteers. Why should there be any other organization necessary for this work? You can all be members and volunteers and take charge of the work. Think what the students in Europe did during the great War. Are we prepared to make the sacrifices that they made? If deep down in us is the conviction that we may not even breathe in peace until we have freedom, we will live and move and have our being in carrying out the constructive programme.

Lastly, may I sum up in a word what is expected of you? Even as we have to be pure, let us shed the fear of death. An Englishman has recently told us that though Gandhi may think that India will be none the worse if Englishmen left India, he has no doubt that not a rich man's property will be safe and not a virgin will be inviolate the moment his countrymen leave India. That shows what a low opinion he has of us Indians. But how can it be otherwise? We are so fear-stricken today that we have to maintain the services of hired men for the defence of our property and our honour. The moment we shed the fear of death, we shall escape from this wretched plight. I expect every maiden studying in the Vidyapith to wake up and muster sufficient moral strength to withstand even the touch of a wicked individual. I want you all to shed the fear of death, so that when the history of freedom comes to be written, the names of the boys and girls of national schools and colleges may be mentioned therein as of those who died not doing violence but in resisting it, no matter by whom committed. The strength to kill is not essential for self-defence; one ought to have the strength to die. When a man is fully ready to die he will not even desire to offer violence. Indeed I may put it down as a self-evident proposition that the desire to kill is in inverse proportion to the desire to die. And history is

Congress organization, it is as necessary to send an absolutely accurate account of the day's doing in each village or locality as it is to have the celebration itself. A full and faithful record of the day's happenings will enable the Working Committee that is to meet on the 14th February to shape its future course.

All this work requires whole-timers, in other words, permanent paid volunteers. Part-time workers are good and valuable only when and where there is at least one whole-time worker. I have already suggested[1] that there should be a permanent Provincial Service Board formed for the U.P. which should draw up a workable constitution and immediately set about enlisting recruits. Let us hope that there will be no time lost in bringing into being this very desirable organization. If it works efficiently and honestly it will serve as a model for the rest of the provinces.

Young India, 16-1-1930

382. *WHAT NOT TO DO?*

In my opinion it was a very wise thing the Lahore Congress did in shifting the time for holding the Congress session from December to some time in February or March.[2] December is no doubt a fine month for the leisured and well-to-do class. For the poor who flock in ever-increasing numbers to the Congress, December is a trying month in most parts of India. They sleep anywhere in the open with the scantiest clothing, and succumb to influenza or the like. The railway concessions during Christmas holidays benefit the poor but little. The Reception Committees are always hard put to it to make the delegates and the visitors comfortable. And lastly it was necessary to break the spell that December had cast over Congressmen. It was originally chosen for the sake of lawyers and others who were connected with the administration of the country and therefore its exploitation. It was therefore but meet, that with the passing of the independence resolution the unbecoming tradition was broken. The Congress has been generally regarded as a pantomime, a holiday show. If independence is to be achieved, it must cease to be a show, it has to become a stern reality.

It was therefore unfortunate that the Subjects Committee refused to reduce its own number or that of the delegates.[3] But

[1] *Vide* p. 260.
[2] *Vide* p. 357.
[3] *Vide* Resolution No. 4, p. 321; also pp. 340-1.

I do not wonder. Even the Congress has become a venue for coveting office, distinction and worse. There is so much scramble for office in the various committees, that election disputes have become a painful feature in our national organization. A coach and four is sought to be driven through every section of the Congress constitution in order to seize office. Well has it therefore been said, that reduction of the organization may work contrary to the expectation, and may even increase the corruption instead of removing or decreasing it. I am fully aware of the danger, and am also aware of the fact that what is needed is not external remedies but internal purification. It behoves us however to use every legitimate external means to purify the Congress, and make it an efficiently working irresistible organization which it undoubtedly can become if it honestly works up to its creed.

I am looking forward to Karachi[1] with great hope. It may be that by that time I may be in a better place, it may be that the whole face of the land will be changed by the time the Congress meets. But I must review the past for the sake of the future as we may expect in the ordinary course.

Though the reduction of the number of delegates is not in the hands of the Sind workers, there are many other things that they can do to make the next session less unbusinesslike and much less expensive. A city of tents is an expensive affair for this country. Open grass sheds with half walls 10 feet apart for comparative privacy are likely to be the cheapest contrivance. Nothing of the material to be used for the purpose will be valueless after use. The ground chosen should be levelled and well laid out, and open squares may be given on hire for the use of delegates and visitors who may make their own arrangements if they so wish. A small committee of experts should set to work now to consider the best and the cheapest method of building a temporary city. No kitchen should be run by the Reception Committee, but licences may be issued to selected patriotic caterers who would serve meals according to provincial tastes and at pre-arranged rates both *a la carte* and table d'hote. We waste much effort and more money in trying to do things in amateurish fashion, and what is more, we lose each year the experience gained in the past. Had it not been so, at the end of forty-five years of experience, the holding of the annual assembly should be child's play, and the arrangements should be a pattern of perfection. As it is, the Reception Committees in their respective cities where the session is held have a

[1] Which was selected as venue of the next Congress session

most anxious time, and thank their stars if everything goes tolerably well. Sanitation, waterworks, medicine, ambulance, catering, building should all be departmentalized and done through honest, nationalist, licensed contractors. Thus alone could corporate national life be built up. The nation's representatives must be able to deliberate and transact national work in perfect peace and quiet.

The exhibition too should not be a side-show to defray the expenses of the Reception Committee, which should easily pay its expenses if it did its work in a businesslike manner. The contractors I have in mind should, through the licence fees they would pay, defray all the expenses of the central office which under the plan suggested by me would only have to do the work of inspection of the several departments and general management. The exhibition must be entrusted to an expert body. I have suggested the A.I.S.A. But if there is prejudice against that body, some other agency may be chosen. To be of real educative value it must satisfy the following conditions:

1. There should be no games and pantomimes. These are amply provided during festivals and by other agencies.

2. Nothing but swadeshi goods should be admitted. Only that may be called swadeshi which is wholly made in India by indigenous skill and for predominantly Indian shareholders where the concern is controlled by a company. Thus a harmonium whose parts are imported and only put together in India is in no sense swadeshi, nor is cloth woven from foreign yarn swadeshi, nor cloth manufactured by a company whose shareholders are principally foreigners.

3. Not all swadeshi goods may be exhibited. Only those should be exhibited that are struggling for existence and that are of real benefit to the nation. Thus cigars, indigenous intoxicating liquors and drugs, obscene indigenous literature, patent medicines, mill-cloth, etc., will be excluded.

4. The spinning-wheel and khadi will be the centre round which all the other exhibits will find place.

Such an exhibition will be of the greatest value to the nation, and if it has a permanent organization behind it, it would provide education of the highest economic value to the masses. Let the Sind workers profit by the mistakes of the past. They have more than twelve months in front of them. Let them not suspend their thinking or their action because something untoward or serious or grand is going to happen. It is a sign of panic to suspend ordinary and necessary business in anticipation of an uncommon

event. We may hold ourselves in readiness for it even as we do or ought to for the supreme event, death, without interrupting the even tenor of life. If the Congress is to be the instrument for achieving independence, it must be disciplined, compact, united and responsive to the needs of the dumb millions.

Young India, 16-1-1930

383. POSERS

A political science student of the Benares Hindu University has asked the following questions[1].

This student's questions are just the ones that used to be asked in 1922. But they do not surprise me. Very few readers besides the questioners themselves go through answers to questions. Out of them only a few are satisfied. Many others forget these questions and answers. Therefore every time such questions are asked it is the duty of the editor to go on answering them.

The first refers to the lack of a spirit of sacrifice. This is true and at the same time not true. True, because in the immediate environment of the questioner the spirit of sacrifice is not apparent, and, for this reason, he assumes that the spirit of sacrifice is lacking in the whole country. It is not true, because, if the spirit of sacrifice were entirely absent, any national work would have been impossible. Even admitting that there is plenty of room for the growth of the spirit of sacrifice, my experience tells me that the spirit does exist in the country and it is ever growing. There is not the least doubt that in order to achieve complete independence the spirit of sacrifice should be more intense. Regarding the wearing of khaddar the commercial attitude, which the student speaks of, must progressively make room for a benevolent and altruistic outlook.

Regarding the triple boycott, I see more of ignorance in what the student has written because the Congress has not revived the boycott of schools and courts. I do believe, however, that these three boycotts are necessary. To say that someone or the other will go to the Councils, then why should Congressmen

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had argued that the triple boycott expected a degree of sacrifice which the people were not prepared to make; that even if successful, the boycott was not going to overthrow the Government and that the earlier satyagraha movements seemed to succeed because they did not challenge the very existence of the Government.

not do so, is not right. Liquor shops will not remain empty, so must we enter them too? If we consider the Councils useless or harmful, why should we attend them? Now take the case of the schools. I see dangerous self-deception in the view that boys will remain uneducated by quitting Government schools. Boys did not remain uneducated before the advent of the British rule. It is a fact that before the British rule was established in India, primary education was much more widespread than it is today and higher education too was imparted in a great measure. Have we fallen so low today that by ending Government-sponsored education our education will come to an end? This student should know that national schools exist in India today and thousands of youths are receiving national education there. Even if all the boys boycott Government schools they need not remain uneducated. Yes, they will certainly not have grand school buildings built with the money soaked in the blood of the poor nor will they receive an education that destroys independence.

Regarding the boycott of law-courts it must be admitted that it is a difficult task. The attachment to them that is evident today is harmful to the interests of the country. We have to rest satisfied only by trying to remove this attachment as far as possible. But it must not be forgotten that the courts are the main refuge of every Government. Therefore, the more lawyers, plaintiffs and defendants shun them, the better. We should lower the prestige of the courts day by day.

In the end, it should be remembered that any institution or person rests on its or his own prestige only. The Government gains prestige through the Councils, schools, courts, etc. Boycott undermines prestige. Therefore the Government's prestige is lowered by the preaching of boycott. This is most natural. No Government can remain stable on the strength of the gun alone.

To say that the people of Bardoli earned less and lost more on account of the satyagraha is not the truth. They themselves know that they gained immensely by the satyagraha. If one wants tangible proof of this one can visit Bardoli and see for oneself even today. It is true that a hard struggle will have to be waged for attaining freedom; but this is neither regrettable nor surprising.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 16-1-1930



384. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SABARMATI,
January 16, 1930

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

RECEIVED WIRES. FIGURES RETESTED. FOUND ACCURATE. YOU MAY ADD SHORT RESOLUTION IF NECESSARY.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

385. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SABARMATI,
January 16, 1930

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

YOUR LETTER RECEIVED AFTER DESPATCH WIRE. RESOLUTION DRAFTED BY YOU WHOLLY UNNECESSARY. REVISED DECLARATION SHOULD BE CIRCULATED. TARIFF RATIO SHOULD READ TWENTY-FOUR TIMES AND EIGHT TIMES RESPECTIVELY LESS HEAVY THAN IN UNITED STATES AND GERMANY.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

386. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 16, 1930

BHAI GHANSHAYMDASJI,

I have both your letters. I am so busy these days that there is no time to answer letters. I shall make my comments after going through the speech. I too had a talk with Malaviyaji Maharaj. Things can improve much if he inculcates tolerance in the other party. Do whatever you can in this direction.

We shall discuss your health when we meet.

I have no anxiety on Keshu's account.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6181. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

387. *TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

AHMEDABAD,
January 17, 1930

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

READING THREE O'CLOCK THIS MORNING PARA REGARDING CUSTOMS CURRENCY. DO NOT LIKE IT. IF DECLARATION NOT SENT PRESS PARAGRAPH REFERRED SHOULD READ QUOTE CUSTOMS AND CURRENCY HAVE BEEN SO MANIPULATED AS TO HEAP FURTHER BURDENS ON THE PEASANTRY. BRITISH MANUFACTURED GOODS CONSTITUTE BULK OF OUR IMPORTS. CUSTOMS DUTIES BETRAY CLEAR PARTIALITY FOR BRITISH MANUFACTURES AND REVENUE FROM THEM IS USED NOT TO LESSEN BURDEN ON THE MASSES BUT FOR SUSTAINING HIGHLY EXTRAVAGANT ADMINISTRATION. STILL MORE ARBITRARY HAS BEEN MANIPULATION OF EXCHANGE RATIO WHICH HAS RESULTED IN MILLIONS BEING DRAINED AWAY FROM THE COUNTRY UNQUOTE.[1]

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-A, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

388. *SPEECH AT HOSTEL BOYS' CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD*[2]

January 17, 1930

My idea of a hostel is that it should be like a family. The superintendent and the students living in the hostel should live as members of one family. The superintendent should take the place of the mother and the father of the students. If the superintendent's wife is also staying there the husband and wife together

[1] This was substituted in the final declaration; *vide* p. 427.

[2] Delivered at the request of hostel superintendents who wanted to know Gandhiji's views on an ideal hostel for students

should discharge the functions of mother and father. Right now the conditions prevailing in the country are pitiable. Unless the superintendent observed *brahmacharya* his wife can never function as a mother in the hostel. She may not be even approving of her husband working in the hostel. She may be putting up with it just because he earns a certain amount as salary. Even if he stole some ghee from the hostel, his wife would be happy that her own children would have a little more ghee to eat. This is not to suggest that all superintendents belong to this category. But our whole society today is in a state of disintegration.

There are not many ideal hostels such as I have described either in Gujarat or in India. If there are, I have not come across them. India has very few such institutions outside Gujarat. Students' hostels are a special product of Gujarat. This can be attributed to many causes. Gujarat is a land of businessmen. It is natural for those who earn money from business to be prompted to build hostels for the students of their community. It was much later that these institutions acquired the big name of hostels. Those poor creatures called them just "Boardings". They did not aim at anything more than providing for the boys facilities of food, etc. When cultured superintendents came to be associated with these institutions, they began imbuing idealism into them.

Personally I consider hostels more important than schools. A great deal of knowledge which cannot be acquired in school can be acquired in a hostel. A school may be imparting some formal education. But the student is not able to digest what he learns in the school though he may retain something in his mind in spite of himself. At the moment I am picturing only the dark side of schools. The strength of mind that can be developed in boys and girls in a hostel can never be done in a school. In the final analysis my idea is that the hostel itself should be the school.

The hostels which the rich businessmen built turned out to be of a different type. Having established the hostels, they kept themselves aloof. The superintendents too felt that once the boys had taken their meals and gone to their schools or colleges their work was done. Had the businessmen and superintendents taken sufficient interest, the hostels would not have remained as they are. We must now study their conditions and find out what measures could be taken to improve them. We can completely transform this institution if we are keen about it. We can accomplish through the hostels much that cannot be achieved in the schools. Let the superintendent not confine himself to looking after the accounts. Let him also keep himself in touch with what the students learn

at school, and look after them with care like his own children or disciples. Today the conditions are such that in many places the superintendent is not even aware of what the students eat or drink.

A serious form of moral indiscipline prevails in our hostels. I specially want to draw your attention to it. The thing is usually winked at. The superintendents are hesitant and hide it thinking that it would spoil the name of their hostel. They feel that they cannot expose the misconduct of the students and do not inform even their parents. But the superintendent never succeeds in keeping it a secret. The superintendent may be thinking that nobody knows anything about it. But the stink spreads in no time. Experienced superintendents must have understood what I am hinting at. I caution the superintendents in this regard. They must be vigilant and realize their duty thoroughly. Those who cannot keep the hostels pure must resign and relieve themselves of this work. It is a reflection on the fitness of the superintendents if, by staying in hostels, the students become cowards, their strength of character is destroyed, their thinking becomes disorganized and their intellect becomes sterile.

I can cite many instances in support of my statement. I receive heaps of letters from students. Many of the letters are anonymous and I consign them to the waste-paper-basket. But I do take in the substance of these letters. Many simple-hearted students give their names and addresses and ask me to suggest solutions. When the new habit is being formed, they are not comforted by the superintendents and helped to fight against it. On the contrary they are encouraged. Later when they awaken they find themselves wanting in will-power. They have no control over their minds nor the strength to follow the advice from someone like me.

Some persons who can handle the work of a superintendent quote high prices for themselves. They have widowed sisters to be supported and children to be married. Such superintendents, even if they are worthy, are unacceptable to us. There are others who think that they are meant for this very work. They would not be attracted by any other work. And some have come forward who are ready to work getting in return just enough for their subsistence.

It should be clear from what I have said that a superintendent should be almost a perfect man. Only such a man who can impress the students and enter into their hearts can become a superin-

tendent. To collect boys together in the absence of such a superintendent would be a terrible thing.

So much for the superintendents. Now something for the students. If the students forget themselves and look upon the superintendent as their servant and believe that all their work should be done by servants and they may do nothing themselves, they are making a mistake. The students should realize that the hostel is not meant for their pleasure. Let them not think that they are paying for their stay in the hostel. Whatever they may be paying is not sufficient to meet the expenses of the hostel. The donors who have built the hostels are under the impression that students benefit by being pampered, that they would be doing their duty by providing them comforts. Under such a belief they provide comforts to the students; but quite often this results in violation of dharma rather than observance of dharma. The students, on the contrary, are spoilt and tend to depend on others. Let the students who can use their brains calculate the rent of the hostel premises and the salaries of the servants and the superintendent. All that is not recovered from the students. They pay only for their board. In some hostels, even food, clothes and books are provided free. The businessmen would be doing well if they took an undertaking from the boys that they would serve the country after completing their studies. But they are so generous that they do nothing of the kind. But the students should realize that if they do not do something in return for what they have been getting, it is like enjoying stolen wealth. I had learnt a poem by Akho Bhagat when I was a young boy:

"Enjoying stolen wealth is like eating unprocessed mercury."

Students will not become brave by enjoying stolen wealth. They will become miserable. Let all of you here resolve that you would not eat the food that is offered as charity. You may well take advantage of the facilities provided for you. But when you have gone back from here you should give notice to the superintendent that all the servants should be relieved forthwith. Or, if you feel pity for the servants, let them be continued; insist on doing all your work yourself. Resolve to do all the work yourself, including the cleaning of lavatories. Then alone will you become householders and will be able to serve your country. Today people do not even have the strength to support themselves and their wives and mothers by any honest occupation.

Anyone who believes in his pride that since he has secured employment he is following an honest occupation should consider

why he is getting Rs. 75 as a clerk in the mill and that a worker with a large family gets only Rs. 12. If he examines this carefully he will know that he does not deserve a higher salary and that it is not an honest earning. All of us in the cities eat stolen food. We are all commission agents working for a giant gang of plunderers. Ninety-five per cent of what we collect from the people we send away to foreign countries. Any earning from such an occupation is as good as no earning at all.

If you have faith in what I have told you today start practising it immediately.

A hostel is like a hermitage. All those who live there must be *brahmacharis*. Even those who are married should have renounced their family life. If you spent some 5 to 10 years in such ideal conditions you would be able to do for India whatever you might wish to do. The sacrifice for freedom has begun. But what can anyone depending on charity contribute towards it? Someone like me would be ready. But I would be carrying with me bread made from *jowar* or *bajra* while you will want spicy food every evening! Some of you may be proud enough to say that everything will be done when the time comes and that there is no need to worry right now. I have seen many people talking in this vein. But when the time comes they hang back. We have already had the experience of how people behave in jail after they are arrested. It is well known to everyone how the people who had gone to jail during 1920-21 had created a row over food and what practices they had resorted to. We had all been put to shame by it. Do not be under the impression that you can learn to make sacrifices all at once. It can be learnt only after long training. Anyone who is eager to make a sacrifice but has not tried to overcome his subtle craving for pleasures is betrayed by them at the critical moment. This is proved by experience. If you students would but understand you would find that what I have said today can be easily put into practice.

[Fom Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-2-1930

389. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM[1]

[On or after *January 17, 1930*][2]

I am glad that you all want me to speak to you on the meaning of and the necessity for prayer. I believe that prayer is the very soul and essence of religion, and therefore prayer must be the very core of the life of man, for no man can live without religion. There are some who in the egotism of their reason declare that they have nothing to do with religion. But it is like a man saying that he breathes but that he has no nose. Whether by reason, or by instinct, or by superstition, man acknowledges some sort of relationship with the divine. The rankest agnostic or atheist does acknowledge the need of a moral principle, and associates something good with its observance and something bad with its non-observance. Bradlaugh, whose atheism is well known, always insisted on proclaiming his innermost conviction. He had to suffer a lot for thus speaking the truth, but he delighted in it and said that truth is its own reward. Not that he was quite insensible to the joy resulting from the observance of truth. This joy however is not at all worldly, but springs out of communion with the divine. That is why I have said that even a man who disowns religion cannot and does not live without religion.

Now I come to the next thing, *viz.*, that prayer is the very core of man's life, as it is the most vital part of religion. Prayer is either petitional or in its wider sense is inward communion. In either case the ultimate result is the same. Even when it is petitional, the petition should be for the cleansing and purification of the soul, for freeing it from the layers of ignorance and darkness that envelop it. He therefore who hungers for the awakening of the divine in him must fall back on prayer. But prayer is no mere exercise of words or of the ears, it is no mere repetition of empty formula. Any amount of repetition of Ramanama is futile if it fails to stir the soul. It is better in prayer to have a heart without word than words without a heart. It must be in clear response to

[1] This was mainly addressed, after the evening prayers, to hostel boys who had participated in a students' conference at the end of the National Educational Week. They sought Gandhiji's advice on the necessity of making congregational prayers compulsory, a proposal which was earlier rejected at the Conference.

[2] The National Educational Conference concluded on January 17, 1930.

the spirit which hungers for it. And even as a hungry man relishes a hearty meal, a hungry soul will relish a heartfelt prayer. And I am giving you a bit of my experience and that of my companions when I say that he who has experienced the magic of prayer may do without food for days together but not a single moment without prayer. For without prayer there is no inward peace.

If that is the case, someone will say, we should be offering our prayers every minute of our lives. There is no doubt about it, but we erring mortals, who find it difficult to retire within ourselves for inward communion even for a single moment, will find it impossible to remain perpetually in communion with the divine. We therefore fix some hours when we make a serious effort to throw off the attachments of the world for a while, we make a serious endeavour to remain, so to say, out of the flesh. You have heard Surdas's hymn.[1] It is the passionate cry of a soul hungering for union with the divine. According to our standards he was a saint, but according to his own he was a proclaimed sinner. Spiritually he was miles ahead of us, but he felt the separation from the divine so keenly that he has uttered that anguished cry in loathing and despair.

I have talked of the necessity for prayer, and therethrough I have dealt with the essence of prayer. We are born to serve our fellowmen, and we cannot properly do so unless we are wide awake. There is an eternal struggle raging in man's breast between the powers of darkness and of light, and he who has not the sheet-anchor of prayer to rely upon will be a victim to the powers of darkness. The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world, the man who goes about the affairs of the world without a prayerful heart will be miserable and will make the world also miserable. Apart therefore from its bearing on man's condition after death, prayer has incalculable value for man in this world of the living. Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily acts. We inmates of the Ashram who came here in search of truth and for insistence on truth professed to believe in the efficacy of prayer, but had never up to now made it a matter of vital concern. We did not bestow on it the care that we did

[1] Where is there a wretch
So loathsome and wicked as I?
I have forsaken my Maker,
So faithless have I been.

on other matters. I awoke from my slumbers one day and realized that I had been woefully negligent of my duty in the matter. I have therefore suggested measures of stern discipline and far from being any the worse, I hope we are the better for it. For it is so obvious. Take care of the vital thing and other things will take care of themselves. Rectify one angle of a square, and the other angles will be automatically right.

Begin therefore your day with prayer, and make it so soulful that it may remain with you until the evening. Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares. Do not worry about the form of prayer. Let it be any form, it should be such as can put us into communion with the divine. Only, whatever be the form, let not the spirit wander while the words of prayer run on out of your mouth.

If what I have said has gone home to you, you will not be at peace until you have compelled your hostel superintendents to interest themselves in your prayer and to make it obligatory. Restraint self-imposed is no compulsion. A man, who chooses the path of freedom from restraint, i.e., of self-indulgence, will be a bondslave of passions, whilst the man who binds himself to rules and restraints releases himself. All things in the universe, including the sun and the moon and the stars, obey certain laws. Without the restraining influence of these laws the world would not go on for a single moment. You, whose mission in life is service of your fellowmen, will go to pieces if you do not impose on yourselves some sort of discipline, and prayer is a necessary spiritual discipline. It is discipline and restraint that separates us from the brute. If we will be men walking with our heads erect and not walking on all fours, let us understand and put ourselves under voluntary discipline and restraint.

Young India, 23-1-1930

390. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 18, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I understand what you say. You may write your diary in any manner you think proper. It is very strange that you have not yet been able to overcome your constipation. Do you have to take pills? I think your handwriting has improved a little, but there is room for further improvement.

This place has become overcrowded.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9274

391. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

January 18, 1930

The description which you give of the site is beautiful indeed, but the lack of facility of water is in my eyes a serious drawback. Even if the supply of water was assured, I do not wish to start anything new this year. The plan of the struggle that is taking shape in my mind is of a fight of such magnitude that no one can say how it will end. It is also possible that ultimately I do not succeed in thinking out an effective plan and decide to do nothing. But 75 against 25 the chances are that my inner voice will prompt me to fight and not to drop the plan.

When you return to Bombay, where do you intend to stay? You can maintain the improvement only if you take a small bungalow in a suburb and live there. Would you not like to take a small house on the outskirts of a fine village and go there to live? And serve the village in every way you can? . . .

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 98-9

392. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

January 19, 1930

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

At present I do see no need to make any changes in the profession and the treatment of immigrant Indians. Moreover, a discussion would serve no purpose.

I am fully informed about the anti-Andrews happenings in America.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SJT. BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2561

393. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 20, 1930

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Either a p.c. or none. I have yours. It is well you are now going thoroughly into the Utkal khadi business. When I was in Utkal, I had spoken to the workers about their laziness and ignorance in the presence of Niranjan Babu. I hope both of you are well. Have you not sent Rs. 2,500 to Abhoy Ashram? Have you got the amount? I have a reminder from the AA[1].

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 1614

[1] Abhoy Ashram

394. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

January 20, 1930

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I got your letter. If meetings are prohibited, I think it would be best not to hold them in Indian States or in localities in which they are prohibited.

What can we do about the report in *Arjun*? What do you suggest?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6071. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

395. NOTE TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Silence Day [January 20, 1930][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Tell me about the following things either at mealtime or during the afternoon or in the evening whenever you get time.

To whom did you give the bangles on the *Rentia Baras*[2] day? Why did you give them?

To whom are biscuits served in the afternoon? What is the quantity served if the persons concerned do not eat ghee and sugar?

Does anyone supervise the children's spinning class? If no one does so, somebody should be asked to do it from today. What is the duration of the class and when does it commence?

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 34

[1] As in the source

[2] *Bhadarva Vad* 12, Gandhiji's birthday according to the Gujarati calendar, celebrated as Spinning Day

396. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN SHAH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 21, 1930

CHI. SHARDA,

Your original name becomes you best. A Sharada[1] would understand through a mere hint why a well-wisher forbids a thing. One reason for doing that is provided by you three sisters. You have all said the same thing in your letters, but instead of signing the same letter you wrote three separate letters and thereby wasted your time and money, which really belong to the people. A satyagrahi's time or money is not his own. He has offered up everything to the Lord. The second reason is that[2] a woman of careful habits does not write important letters with a pencil. I had to stop in this letter at the point where my handwriting starts, and complete it today, the 21st.

The real reason is that I think it desirable that you should wait for some time. It is not necessary for everyone to join a struggle. This being my view, I do not send a wire.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2840. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

397. LETTER TO DEVCHAND U. PAREKH

January 21, 1930

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. I do believe that, if the Thakore Saheb of Morvi offers to use his good offices to settle the dispute, they should slacken the satyagraha. I don't understand why Manilal is so impatient. Moreover, Fulchand, too, is there to help them. Write to me from time to time. If possible, you should even run down to Malia.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5724

[1] Goddess of learning

[2] From here the letter is in Gandhiji's handwriting.

398. LETTER TO KUNVARJI PAREKH

Wednesday [January 22, 1930][1]

CHI. KUNVARJI,

Rami and the children arrived here quite safe. I got your letter after the train for Viramgam had left. I have not, therefore, been able to send anyone there. Write to me from time to time and keep me informed about your condition.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9714

399. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

Wednesday [January 22, 1930][2]

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I was happy to read the letter written by you three sisters. Write to me like that from time to time. Instead of my going there, why should not you all come here? How are your studies progressing? You ought not to give up spinning. How could you ever think of that?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7462

400. LETTER TO BENARSILAL BAZAJ

January 22, 1930

CHI. BENARSILAL,

I have a letter from Jamnalalji and another from Rukmini's paternal grandfather. *Phalguna Shukla* 2 is an auspicious day. It falls on Sunday, March 2. Regard this date as fixed for the

[1] From the postmark
[2] From the G.N. Register

wedding which will be solemnized in the Ashram. I hope it suits you. If you wish to write anything please do.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRIYUT BENARSILAL
NEW SWADESHI MILLS
RAILWAYPURA
AHMEDABAD

From Hindi: C.W. 9301. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

401. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY EXPRESS"

AHMEDABAD,
January 22, 1930

The great trial of strength in this country is at hand. Events now depend entirely on the British Government, for we shall not in any circumstances, now or in the future, participate in any conference unless it is called to consider our complete secession from Great Britain. The day has passed when we could accept anything less than that.

We are engaged, as the world must know, in a struggle for the absolute severance of the present British connection and we shall not rest until that aim has been achieved.

We have begun now. You shall find in every section of the land millions of our men and women in their cottages spinning hour after hour. This means a nationwide boycott of foreign-spun cloths, and in time must mean the end of British predominance in an industry which is the principal reason for the presence of your British troops in this country.

Asked to outline the details of his plans for the execution of his crusade of civil disobedience, Gandhiji replied:

I am not yet sure of the form it will take. I have come here and in my seclusion I hope to evolve a plan of civil resistance which will not cause destruction or involve bloodshed, but which will be large enough to make the impression I desire. That is all I am doing here, otherwise, as you can see, I am spinning.

He lapsed here into a long theoretical explanation of the necessity for careful preparation. He was not certain that the precise moment had arrived which would ensure the success of this first step in the coming revolution, but it would be a guide — the measure of its success would be a guide to him. He went on to explain:

It is absolutely necessary for the person controlling such a movement to keep himself in tune with the voice of his followers, and therefore he must be as impervious to outside influences as he has to be sensitive to every little thing that goes on within.

I asked Gandhi if it was not possible that he might yet be able to avoid the extreme measures to which he was proceeding. When he replied promptly in the affirmative and said that the slightest gesture from the British Government would work the miracle, I inquired what that gesture in his view should involve. He replied:

Any real gesture from the British Government and the British people, or any unexpected combination, spontaneous and healthy among ourselves, which would in itself constitute sufficient pressure to compel world attention, and not merely the attention of the British people.

That meant, of course, combination with extremists, but what kind of gesture from Britain?

Supposing the British Cabinet were to say tomorrow, 'We are prepared to consider and further a scheme of Indian independence', and produce an atmosphere, as it can certainly do, congenial to the framing of such a scheme, that would automatically prevent any further preparation for civil disobedience.

Does not the proposed Round Table Conference offer you an opportunity for full discussion in this respect?

He answered with some emphasis:

No, not in any shape or form. Because the Round Table Conference scheme so far as I have understood it from authentic sources is designed to discuss anything between a form of government infinitely less than the present and Dominion Status. There is, for example, this proposition made by responsible ex-officials that powers hitherto enjoyed by the people of India, such as they are now, should be taken away, because these critics actually suggest that we have proved ourselves unworthy of the powers. Therefore, such a Round Table Conference, where even the capacity of India for full freedom is in question, has no place for me whatever. It is entirely out of the question that I should attend. I can only attend a conference which is pledged not to consider how much power India should or should not enjoy, but to consider ways and means of framing a scheme of complete independence. This is the only conference I could consider for a moment attending.

I asked Gandhi bluntly at this point whether he seriously believed his methods would frighten the British Government into subjection to his demands.

It all depends on the response of the people. I am confident, but I am not certain. I think the time is ripe now to formulate my plans. It is my own limitations that make it impossible for me to penetrate the surrounding darkness.

In other words, the atmosphere round me is depressing, and there are undoubtedly forces of violence to be seen on the surface which I may not be able to control.

But, as I have said, true non-violence which I advocate might yet be able to circumvent and rise superior even to these forces, but being myself an imperfect instrument I may not be able readily to lay my hands on the proper form of non-violence which will meet these circumstances. It is this menacing force of violence which threatens the land which must first be sterilized.

Gandhi emphasized here that civil disobedience was the extreme limit of action that he would countenance, declaring it to be the limit of non-violence, anything more involving a programme of violence, to which he would never be a party.

Replying to a further question, he said:

The strength of the extremists is not great today, but is growing.

But supposing the extremists got out of hand and the responsibility for bloodshed becomes theirs, and therefore yours — what then? Supposing the British Government are then forced to take the action which the British public will demand of them, and they make arrests and arrest you — what then? He replied solemnly:

I am not afraid of arrest and it is quite open for the British Government to precipitate the reign of violence as they have done in the past. What the consequences then will be I cannot say but such a step would, in my opinion, be the sheerest folly.

Then your view of the immediate future is what?

The immediate future is, for a man so optimistic as I am, quite bright, but if I were to calculate the pros and cons and to enter into the arithmetic of the situation, I must confess that the problem is insoluble. I do not know what is going to happen. I am not in the happy position of a general who knows beforehand the whole of his plan, who works according to a time-table, and can profess to be able to forecast results with certainty.

But I can assure you of this much. The trial of strength in India is now at hand. The outcome depends entirely on the British Government.

There are two courses which they may pursue. One way is the old panicky way which will lead to Dyerism, to frightfulness

and mad repression, and then anarchy. The other course is the way of the wise man who reflects on his past sins, repents, and retraces his steps. Let us hope.

The Searchlight, 12-2-1930

402. TO THE INDIAN CRITICS

I know that you are angry with me for my having been the supposed breaker of the negotiations with the Viceroy. You think I have made a hash of it. If I have done so, I was driven to it. I was disinclined to join the party. But I was wanted if only for my supposed influence over the masses. I went and spoke in accordance with the dictates of the inner voice. This ability to hear and obey that voice gives me whatever power I may have and has enabled me to render some little service to the country. You will not have me at this time of my life to change my course and listen to any other voice but the inner.

And what is the offence that I have committed in common with Pandit Motilalji? Not to depart from the Congress instructions, not to depart from the terms of the now famous Delhi manifesto? It is well known that the terms mentioned therein, no matter by what name they are called, were binding on all Congressmen. We broke on the very central point of Dominion Status. I make bold to say that the country has gained by the correct attitude Pandit Nehru and I adopted.

Surely nothing will be lost by the Congress abstaining from participation in the Conference if the British Cabinet mean well. Let those that have faith attend, and if they bring anything worth looking at from the independence standpoint, the Congress will capitulate. The days of being satisfied with costly toys are over. It is the substance that India wants.

British domination must cease.

British administration, that is costing the country far beyond its means, must end now, not in the remote future.

The vast majority of Congressmen believe that this cannot be had through any round table conference unless a proper atmosphere for it is created. Diplomatic language that may mean one thing for the British voter and another for the Indian peasant will never make India free. The British people must realize that the Empire is to come to an end. This they will not realize unless we in India have generated power within to enforce our will. The English have paid dearly for their freedom such as it is. They

therefore only respect those who are prepared to pay an adequate price for their own liberty. The real conference therefore has to be among ourselves.

Instead therefore of looking at the independence movement with hostility, the critics should bless it even when they cannot identify themselves with it.

But perhaps they do not mind the independence propaganda so much as they mind the idea of civil disobedience. Will they have an armed rebellion instead? The Congress cannot stay its hands after having passed the independence resolution. It was no bluff, no showy nothing. It was a deliberate definite change in the Congress mentality. It is then as much up to the critics as to me to devise ways and means of achieving independence.

There is undoubtedly a party of violence in the country. It is growing in strength. It is as patriotic as the best among us. What is more, it has much sacrifice to its credit. In daring it is not to be surpassed by any of us. It is easy enough to fling unkind adjectives at its members, but it will not carry conviction with them. I am not now referring to the frothy eloquence that passes muster for patriotism. I have in mind that secret, silent persevering band of young men and even women who want to see their country free at any cost. But whilst I admire and adore their patriotism, I have no faith whatsoever in their method. They and I are as poles asunder. India's salvation does not lie through violence. I am convinced that their methods have cost the country much more than they know or will care to admit. Let them study the reforms which they claim were a result of their activity. Assuming that their claim is just, let them remember that the reforms have cost more than the country could at all pay. But they will listen to no argument however reasonable it may be, unless they are convinced that there is a programme before the country which requires at least as much sacrifice as the tallest among them is prepared to make. They will not be allured by our speeches, resolutions or even conferences. Action alone has any appeal for them. This appeal can only come from non-violent action which is no other than civil resistance. In my opinion it and it alone can save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime. That even civil resistance may fail and may also hasten the lawlessness is no doubt a possibility. But if it fails in its purpose, it will not be civil resistance that will have failed. It will fail, if it does, for want of faith and consequent incapacity in the civil resisters. This argument may not appeal to the critic. I shall be sorry, if it does not. Even so, he will perhaps admit the purity of my motive.

We must cease to dread violence, if we will have the country to be free. Can we not see that we are tightly pressed in the coil of violence? The peace we seem to prize is a mere makeshift, and it is bought with the blood of the starving millions. If the critics could only realize the torture of their slow and lingering death brought about by forced starvation, they would risk anarchy and worse in order to end that agony. The agony will not end till the existing rule of spoliation has ended. I would have waited if I could have been convinced that the condition of the masses has undergone progressive amelioration under British rule. Alas, he who runs may see that it has progressively deteriorated under that rule. It is a sin, with that knowledge, to sit supine, and for fear of imaginary anarchy or worse, to stop action that may prevent anarchy, and is bound, if successful, to end the heartless spoliation of a people who have deserved a better fate.

Young India, 23-1-1930

403. TO ENGLISH FRIENDS

To the many known and still more unknown English friends, I owe perhaps a word on the eve of what may end in being a life-and-death struggle. In spite of myself I tried to believe in the possibility of self-respecting Congressmen attending the proposed Round Table Conference. I had my doubts because I knew that the Congress, though it is admittedly the most representative organization in the country, had no adequate power behind it for vindicating its position. It could therefore be represented at the Conference, only if it knew that the British Government and people had, either through a generous impulse or through the pressure of world opinion, decided to grant immediate Dominion Status, and that the Conference was to meet in order to discuss not anything the different groups liked but to discover the contents of a Dominion Status constitution. The Viceroy made it clear in no uncertain terms that he could give no such assurance. Such being the case, consistently with its past declaration and with the national interest of which the Congress claims to be the principal trustee, clearly it could not allow itself to be represented at the Conference. But it may be asked: Granting that the Congress could not in the circumstances be expected to send its representatives, where was the necessity for going from Dominion Status to independence? The answer is plain. Organizations like men, if they are to command respect and grow, must have a sense of honour and must fulfil

their promises. Well, the Congress promised at Calcutta to change the creed to independence if Dominion Status was not forthcoming by the 31st of December 1929. It did not come nor was there any prospect of its coming for certain in the immediate future. The Congress therefore had no other course left open, if it was not 'to commit suicide', but to declare its immediate objective to be complete independence instead of Dominion Status.

But what is there intrinsically wrong in wanting independence? It is not possible for me to understand this opposition from sober Englishmen to the enunciation of an inalienable right of every nation to be independent except on the supposition that even they, the sober Englishmen, do not want India to be free.

'But you are not fit for independence', say some. Surely it is for us to judge whether we are fit or not. And granting that we are not, there is nothing wrong or immoral in our aspiring after independence and in the attempt rendering ourselves fitter day by day. We shall never be fit by being taught to feel helpless and to rely upon the British bayonet to keep us from fighting among ourselves or from being devoured by our neighbours. If we have to go through the agonies of a civil war or a foreign invasion, it won't be a new thing in the history of nations that have struggled for freedom. England has gone through both the experiences. After all freedom is not a hot-house growth.

It is open to those English friends who are sincerely anxious for India's welfare to assist India in her fight for freedom and on her terms. She knows best what she needs. Complete independence does not mean arrogant isolation or a superior disdain for all help. But it does mean complete severance of the British bondage, be it ever so slight or well concealed. The opposition therefore to the demand for immediate independence raises the strongest suspicions about the good intentions of those who have conceived the idea of the Conference. It must be clearly understood that the largest nationalist party in India will no longer submit to the position of a dependent nation or to the process of helpless exploitation. It will run any risk to be free from the double curse.

Is it not now intelligible why, notwithstanding its undoubted risks, I am planning some sort of civil disobedience so as to get together all the non-violent forces and see if it stems the tide of onrushing violence? Hatred and ill will there undoubtedly are in the air. They are bound sooner or later to burst into acts of fury if they are not anticipated in time. The conviction has deepened in me that civil disobedience alone can stop the bursting

We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves, by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing *purna* swaraj.

Young India, 23-1-1930

405. HAS NON-VIOLENCE BEEN ABANDONED?

A friend writes:[1]

It is very improper of any editor to publish incorrect reports about someone in this manner, without proper investigation and verification. I have never said what has been quoted above. Non-violence is an integral part of my life; I can never forsake it. My faith in non-violence is growing day by day. I have also been getting visible proof of its success. Whatever I said regarding what people should do after my arrest is the exact opposite of what is quoted above. In other words, I said that if people should turn violent under these circumstances the adherents of non-violence should endeavour to restrain them. As for slavery, I said that if I were compelled to choose to be a witness to slavery or violence, I shall certainly choose to be a witness to violence. There is a vast difference between these words and what is published in the papers. There is no word in favour of violence in what I spoke. We are all witnesses to violent and other undesirable actions, even though it be unwillingly; but we have always been so and must remain so.

One lesson has to be learnt from the above letter, namely, when one hears or reads anything unusual about a well-known public servant or a public leader, it should never be believed without corroboration from him.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 23-1-1930

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that some newspapers quoted Gandhiji as suggesting violent action in the event of his arrest.

406. LETTER TO DR. ROMER

SABARMATI,
January 23, 1930

DEAR DR. ROMER,

Could you please repair the accompanying set[1] for Mrs. Gandhi? It slipped from her hand and broke.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4582

407. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I got your letter. You need not worry. I will now set the matter right. You have not violated truth in any way. I can be blamed for an oversight, though I do not know what mistake I made. I distinctly remember that I told Pyarelal or Kusumbehn what should be done. If either of them made a mistake, it should be regarded as mine. This is not formal justice but real justice.[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 202

408. TELEGRAM TO NALINI RANJAN SARKAR

[On or before *January 24, 1930*][3]

MY CONGRATULATIONS TO SUBHAS AND OTHER FRIENDS[4]. SEND ME FULL PARTICULARS. TELL ME ALSO WHAT STEPS BEING TAKEN.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 25-1-1930

[1] Of dentures

[2] *Vide* also "My Notes", 2-2-1930, sub-title, "Attention to Detail".

[3] The report is datelined "Calcutta, January 24".

[4] On their conviction

409. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. You may come whenever you wish to. I shall be here up to the 2nd of March, if I am not arrested before then. On the 2nd is Rukhi's wedding.

How did Kamala develop constipation? Never forget that it should not be tolerated even for a day.

Gangabehn must be giving you all the news about the ebb and flow here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9275

410. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I got your letter. Somehow or other your digestion must improve. There are several remedies, but ultimately you have to find one yourself.

As regards work, I would advise you to perform cheerfully whatever task is assigned to you. You will derive true strength out of that. Do discuss with Jamnalalji if you feel the need of doing anything in particular. He will delegate that job to you if he approves. Even otherwise have no worry. This is the duty of a true soldier. Our welfare lies in the welfare of the organization and only the man at the helm must judge the interests of the organization, even though the judgment may not be the right one.

You can certainly pay Vinobaji the boarding expenses incurred by the Ashram on you and you must not hesitate to inquire from Jamnalalji what you owe him for the expenses incurred in his kitchen. He will not only not mind it but will appreciate it.

Prabhudas has reached Vijapur. He shook off his fever only after reaching there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2373

411. NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA

A full report of the activities of the Navajivan Karyalaya accompanies the present number of *Navajivan.* I invite to it the attention of every lover of the journal. The reader will please consider it pardonable if he notices anywhere in the Report a sense of pride resulting from self-satisfaction. This Karyalaya came into being in circumstances that no one had ever imagined. It got the services of Swami Anand, who helped to give the Karyalaya the stability which it now has. My purpose in drawing attention to the Report is to show that a business, run with honesty and in a spirit of service but in a businesslike manner, can succeed, and to dispel the illusion that one cannot afford to be entirely honest in business.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 26-1-1930

412. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

January 28, 1930

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I thank you for your note[1]. I said that if everything was in order I should try to help the friends. I had heard however that Sir Purshottamdas was unwilling to shoulder the burden. If my recollection is correct[2], the friends were also to raise an equivalent amount. I had entrusted the whole thing to Mr. Baban Gokhale who was not well impressed. If you could spare

[1] About Gandhiji's promise to secure for N. D. Bhosle a fund of Rs. 15,000 for a hostel for the depressed class students in Bombay; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, p. 113.

[2] The source has "correction".

the time, I would like you to send for and see Mr. Gokhale. I would welcome your active intervention in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Jayakar's Private Papers, Correspondence File No. 422. Courtesy: National Archives of India

413. PREFACE TO "KATHAKUSUMANJALI[1]*"*

UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI,
January 29, 1930

This is a collection of articles by Sjt. Valji Desai. All readers of *Navajivan* know by now the labour which preceded the writing of each one of these articles. They were not written to serve a journalist's immediate aim, but were written to serve permanent public good. Hence they deserve to be published in book form. The subjects dealt with in these articles will be of great help to anyone seeking *satsang*[2]. From the point of view of language, too, their value is no less, for Valji Desai commands a unique style.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9276. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

414. CLEARING THE ISSUE

I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself by the enunciation of a phrase provide a solution for problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realized. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey.

* * *

But though the Conference cannot assume the duty that appertains to His Majesty's Government, it will be convened for the purpose, hardly less important, of elucidating and harmonizing opinion, and so affording guidance to His Majesty's Government on whom the responsibility

[1] Literally, 'a floral tribute in the form of stories'
[2] Company of righteous or religious men

must subsequently devolve of drafting proposals for the consideration of Parliament.

The foregoing titbits from His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Assembly[1] make it as clear as possible that Dominion Status was never to be the immediate objective of the proposed Round Table Conference. And why need any of us doubt that even Lord Birkenhead will concede that Dominion Status may be India's distant goal? Where time is of essence, it makes a difference not in degree but in kind. And when that difference in kind was discovered at the interview at Delhi[2], there was no meeting ground left between the Viceregal mentality and the Congress mentality. The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will today, if it had the power, raise every starving peasant to a state in which he can at least get a *living* even equal to a millionaire's. And when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not *kismet* that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule, unaided he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between constitutional and unconstitutional, even violent and non-violent means.

The Congress expects to guide the peasant in the right direction.

The Viceroy's speech has cleared another thing. We now know why Sir John Simon has made the discovery that the question of Indian princes should be made an integral part of his precious inquiry. A pure creation of the British Government, unlike those in British India, bereft even of speech, they are to be pawns in the game of exploitation to be played at the Conference. The Conference room will ring with the name of Dominion Status whilst further burdens will be sought to be heaped upon the devoted heads of the starving millions. Let those who wish join a game where one party plays with loaded dice.

His Excellency is offended over the Congress resolution on financial obligations! Why? Be it noted that the Congress has referred the examination of the justness or otherwise of these obligations to an impartial tribunal. Is it a crime to question the propriety of some of these obligations? Lord Irwin's impatience over that most innocent resolution is typical of the British mentality. Thousands of Englishmen honestly believe that all obliga-

[1] On January 25
[2] On December 23

415. DIFFICULTY OF PRACTICE

The reader should read Rev. B. de Ligt's letter printed elsewhere in this issue[1]. I welcome the letter as of a fellow-seeker in the field of ahimsa. It is entitled to respectful consideration. And such friendly discussion leads to a clearer conception of the possibilities and limitations of non-violence.

In spite of the greatest effort to be detached, no man can altogether undo the effect of his environment or of his upbringing. Non-violence of two persons occupying different positions will not outwardly take the same shape. Thus the non-violence of a child towards his father would take the shape of conscious and voluntary submission to his violence when he loses his temper. But if the child has lost his temper, the father's submission to the child's violence would be meaningless. The father would take the child to his bosom and instantaneously sterilize the child's violence. In each case it is of course assumed that the outward act is an expression of the inward intention. One who having retaliation in his breast submits to violence out of policy is not truly non-violent and may even be a hypocrite if he hides his intention. It should also be remembered that non-violence comes into play only when it comes in contact with violence. One who refrains from violence when there is no occasion for its exercise is simply un-violent and has no credit for his inaction.

Dominion Status ceasing to be a factor, the points raised from that imaginary event now need not be discussed except to say, that the enjoyment by India of Dominion Status would have meant India, then become an equal partner, instead of being ruled by it, dominating the foreign policy of Great Britain.

My general and hearty approval of the Nehru Report must not be taken to mean endorsement of every word of it. My approval need not carry endorsement of the constructive programme for the future governance of free India. My non-violence would prevent me from fighting my countrymen on the many questions that must arise when India has become free. A mere academic discussion can only hamper the present progress of non-violence. I know however that if I survive the struggle for freedom, I might have to give non-violent battle to my own countrymen

[1] Under the title "Cat and Mouse"

which may be as stubborn as that in which I am now engaged. But the military schemes now being considered by the great Indian leaders are highly likely to appear even to them to be wholly unnecessary, assuming that we have come to our own demonstrably through non-violent means deliberately chosen and used.

My collaboration with my countrymen today is confined to the breaking of our shackles. How we would feel and what we shall do after breaking them is more than they or I know.

It is profitless to speculate whether Tolstoy in my place would have acted differently from me. It is enough for me to give the assurance to my friends in Europe, that in no single act of mine have I been consciously guilty of endorsing violence or compromising my creed. Even the seeming endorsement of violent action by my participation on the side of Britain in the Boer War[1] and the Zulu revolt[2] was a recognition in the interest of non-violence of an inevitable situation. That the participation may nevertheless have been due to my weakness or ignorance of the working of the universal law of non-violence is quite possible. Only I had no conviction then, nor have any now, of such weakness or ignorance.

A non-violent man will instinctively prefer direct participation to indirect, in a system which is based on violence and to which he has to belong without any choice being left to him. I belong to a world which is partly based on violence. If I have only a choice between paying for the army of soldiers to kill my neighbours or to be a soldier myself, I would, as I must, consistently with my creed, enlist as a soldier in the hope of controlling the forces of violence and even of converting my comrades.

National independence is not fiction. It is as necessary as individual independence. But neither, if it is based on non-violence, may ever be a menace to the equal independence of the nation or the individual as the case may be. As with individual and national independence, so with the international. The legal maxim is equally moral: *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*. It has been well said that the universe is compressed in the atom. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe.

Young India, 30-1-1930

[1] *Vide* Vol. III.
[2] *Vide* Vol. V.

416. NOTES

Bengal Patriots

My congratulations to Sjt. Subhas Bose and his companions on one year's rigorous imprisonment for having dared to serve the country. Bengal may be rent into many divisions and parties. But Bengal's bravery and self-sacrifice can never wane. The only way the country can react to these imprisonments is to fill the prisons to overflowing till the Government has a surfeit of political prisoners. A few discharges occasionally obtained take the attention off the real thing which is to make such prosecutions impossible. That will only happen when either the British people have changed their viewpoint, or when we have, by filling the prisons honourably, made it profitless to imprison any more people. No government puts people in prison, if the punishment does not deter a single soul from so-called offence.

Forty-four Deaths

Sjt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Pandit Bhavani Dayal send me the following wire:

> Forty-four emigrants died on *Sutlej* returned West Indies. Bad diet, worse accommodation. Letter follows.

I await the letter. But the brief telegram is enough to show that there is hardly any improvement upon the old system after the happening of the tragedy that took place not long ago regarding such emigrants. The whole thing calls for a thorough investigation, and complete stoppage of all facilities to the countries that care not for the lives of those who labour for them.

Local Boards

Sjt. Sasadhar Ganguly, a member of the Manbhum District Board and Purulia Municipality, writes:[1]

I heartily endorse the suggestion made in this letter. No municipality represented by nationalists can accept dictation as to the holidays to be observed. And it would be an insult to the

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had asked whether members of local bodies should resist dictation from bureaucracy and suffer the consequences.

memory of departed patriots if members stole in the observance of their memory under cover of another holiday. It is the right of every nationalist municipality and local or district board to maintain its own holidays.

Young India, 30-1-1930

417. MONSTROUS MARRIAGES

Shri Benarsidas Chaturvedi writes:

> I draw your attention with great shame to the article "Surfeit of child-marriages in Mathura" which was published in the 30th December issue of *Mathuri Hitaishi*. These weddings took place in our Mathur Chaturvedi caste. It is the misfortune of our caste that girls of 2, 2½ and 3 years are given in marriage. There has been considerable agitation over this. The well-known leader Shri Radheylal Chaturvedi, who belongs to our caste, tried very hard but these child-marriages could not be prevented. Last year an eight-month-old girl and a 15-month-old girl were given in marriage. One does not know how to reform these people. It must be pointed out that we, the Chaturvedi community, consider ourselves the highest Brahmins. We consider it a sin to eat food cooked even by other Brahmins.

What else can the marriages described by Benarsidasji be called than monstrous? It is sad that those who perpetrate such marriages continue to be respectable. This creates many difficulties in thwarting them; and when scriptures are quoted in their favour, the difficulties multiply. However, satyagraha can become a sure means of overcoming all kinds of tyranny. Always and under every circumstance we may not have the strength to resort to satyagraha or we may not know how to employ it. This is a different matter. It points to the limitations of the satyagrahi, not of satyagraha.

In the above circumstances every person can resort to one method. The family in which such marriages are recognized should be boycotted and no help of any kind should be expected of it. For example, if a father wishes to get his little daughter married, or if he wishes to sell her, then, in that case, the boys and girls of that house, or at least any one of them who has the courage, must leave the father's house and should accept no help whatever from him. If this is done it will surely have some effect on the father's heart. Even if there is none, those who have left the father's house will escape from the sin.

And let them remember that the ultimate result of such a sacrifice can only be good. I have cited one method of satyagraha in this case only as an example. According to the circumstances every satyagrahi can find other ways and means for himself.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 30-1-1930

418. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

February 1, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I have your sweet letter. It was a great day the 26th. You always have my blessings. Sing away.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9613

419. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Since you are coming shortly, I do not write anything in this letter. This time I am thinking of providing you a room near the place where I sit. The houses occupied by Jaisukhlal and Kashi have become vacant. They can accommodate a large number. "Hridaykunj"[1] is overcrowded just now. Perhaps you can sleep in it, but we shall think more about this after you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9279

[1] Gandhiji's cottage in the Ashram

420. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. Don't you lose heart like this. If the climate of Vijapur suits you, most certainly go there; or go to Bardoli if that suits you. And during summer you can stay at Tadikhet. Your health must improve. If you are drawn towards Vijapur, come here and we shall discuss about Morvi too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2374

421. *MY NOTES*

THE KHAKHRECHI SATYAGRAHA

The Khakhrechi satyagraha was a simple one and on a modest scale. The demand put forward by the farmers was actually small, but the satyagraha owed itself to the cultivators' courage, which was remarkable for Kathiawar and indeed surprising for a principality that lies in a remote corner of the region. What deserved the notice of all the States was how the farmers had initiated the satyagraha on their own. Their demand was so just that no one could have opposed it. The injustice against which the satyagraha was aimed was obvious. It was a painful surprise that the Durbar made the cultivators suffer for about six weeks. When a batch of satyagrahis arrived there to assist these farmers, it was only doing its duty. The satyagrahis deserve compliments for going through their sufferings patiently with no violation of limits of propriety. One cannot say that at the end of this satyagraha the prince on his part had showed any grace. It is true that the farmers have been pacified by doing them some justice and a promise to do some more. If the prince desires congratulations on the point, he might have them. But according to my information, the prince's behaviour towards the volunteer corps lacked grace, decency and courtesy. It does no

422. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 2, 1930

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

You have written to me more or less regularly, but owing to your wanderings[1], I have not known where to write. Your latest has given me a deliberate address. I hope therefore this will reach you safely wherever you may be.

I have read your article in the *New Republic*. I am not taking it in *Young India*. It is therefore being sent to Brelvi[2] as you have desired.

The events have moved fairly fast. I see as clearly as never before that the spirit of violence must be dealt with by non-violent *action* if the situation is to be at all saved. There is the growing violence of the Government expressing itself in a variety of ways —the subtle exploitation and the necessary prosecutions as a consequence of that exploitation, for instance. You will note the extended meaning I have given to violence. Greed, pilfering, untruth, crooked diplomacy—all these are phases or signs or results of violent thought and action. The reaction of this violence upon the thinking educated people is remarkable and daily growing. I have therefore to deal with this double violence. To sit still at this juncture is stupid if not cowardly. I have made up my mind to run the boldest risks. I have arrived at this definite conclusion as a result of deep and prayerful thinking. Lahore revealed it all to me. The nature of the action is not yet clear to me. It has to be civil disobedience. How it is to be undertaken and by whom besides me, I have not yet seen quite clearly. But the shining cover that overlays the truth is thinning day by day and will presently break.

I hardly wanted to write this when I began this letter. But there you are.

Gurudev[3] passed a delightful two hours with me. He has aged considerably. We came nearer each other this time and I was so thankful. We had fully intended to meet again, but Bomanjee suddenly took him away to Baroda.

[1] In Canada and U.S.A.

[2] Syed Abdullah Brelvi, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*

[3] Rabindranath Tagore

Manilal and his wife and baby are here. Ramdas has a baby. He is in Bardoli assisting Vallabhbhai's work. Mahadev is just now here.

We did not get your first volume[1] from the publishers. I asked the *Young India* people to purchase a copy. It is on my desk at present. I have read the first chapter. It is a fair presentation of my religious attitude.

Love.

MOHAN

[PS.]

I do hope you have had your copies of *Young India*.

From a photostat: G.N. 997

423. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SABARMATI,
February 2, 1930

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your two letters. Of course, if you could send someone to take charge of *Indian Opinion*, he will shape its policy not according to my instructions but most decidedly yours. I should not interfere at all.

I wish you had written the letter you intended to. You know how I prize your opinion. It would give me immense relief to be able to adopt your mode of thought. But it has been my misfortune often to differ from most valued friends. My consolation lies in the fact that the mutual affection has never suffered.

Yours sincerely,
M. K GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2192

[1] *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929)

424. *LETTER TO PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS*

SABARMATI,
February 2, 1930

DEAR SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS,

There was no need for an apology for writing to me in English. My own impression is that the depreciation is largely manipulated and the letter from the India Office is intended to frighten us.[1] At the same time when the effect of the Congress resolution comes to be really felt, I know that all the gilt-edged securities are bound to suffer heavy depreciation unless the British Government underwrites all losses and is in a position to do so. I know that during the South African War even all the Republican notes, which 24 hours before the declaration of war were fully worth their face value, became scraps of paper and I understand that such was the case in France and Germany during the late War. It would not surprise me, if we have to go through the same purgatory. The meaning to me of the resolution is that the poor people who have invested their little savings in these securities should not suffer and that the British Government should be made to take over such liabilities as are held by the tribunal referred to in the resolution to be unjust or unjustifiable.

Lastly, you will agree with me that the interpretation of the resolution as also the momentary depreciation are not of so much importance as what action India is going to take in the near future. We are so many and our case is so overwhelmingly just

[1] The addressee had written: "The repudiation of debts as approved of by the Indian National Congress at their Lahore session by their Resolution No. 10 has had considerable effect on the securities market both in England and in India as you are perhaps already aware. In the course of this week there has been published a letter addressed by the India Office to an investor in London, and I mention this to show what anxiety this Resolution of the Congress has created in the minds of investors in London. . . . My principal motive in addressing this letter to you is to draw your attention to the serious depreciation of Indian sterling securities in London since December last. . . . There is no doubt that an enormous amount of loss is being encountered by the present holders of Indian Government paper, either rupee or sterling, and it cannot be to the advantage of any school of politicians to make the innocent ones suffer. . . ." *Vide* also pp. 358 & 450-3.

that, if the other parties instead of belittling the Congress resolution and the Congress efforts were to endorse them, even if by reason of their weakness, they cannot make common cause with the Congress, we should come to our own without much disturbance of the present life in the cities. A radical reshaping of the life in the cities which is today related to the false and artificial standard that is set up by the British administrators and that is out of all keeping with the life of the millions is in any case necessary, if the terrible burden of taxation upon the poor is to be removed. I hope you are not among those who believe that by a mere change of the constitution the starving ryots will find themselves in a position to pay a larger revenue than they are paying today or even to pay comfortably what they are paying now. In my opinion the only meaning of swaraj to these people will be an appreciable reduction in the taxes that they are paying directly and indirectly and fixity of tenure. This cannot happen until we, who are partners with the British administrators in the game of the exploitation of the masses, are prepared to change the angle of our vision even as we expect the former to do.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Purshottamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 96, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

425. *NOTE TO MAHADEV DESAI*

Silence Day, February 3, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I did not find a single word in "If We Let Go"[1] which required to be changed.

Vallabhbhai himself had suggested four or five days. Whatever happens, you must be present on the morning of the 12th. You know it is your job to persuade others to come forward. Has Durga stopped crying?

I understand about the Gujarati translation. We shall decide about it after I break my silence. If you have left today, we shall decide about it after you return. Counting the days, I think it is necessary that you should return on the 8th. If Durga wishes to go with you, you may take her.

[1] A note by Mahadev Desai published in *Young India*, 6-2-1930

I will send a letter to Reginald.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11470

426. *LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 4, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Here are two letters for you.[1]

I hope you received my previous letter. I want you to tell me all your experiences after you separated at Lahore. I have called *Young India* my weekly letter to friends. I hope, therefore, that you are carefully taking in that mouthful.

No time to dictate more.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4529. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

427. *LETTER TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI*

SABARMATI,
February 4, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to introduce a young English friend, Mr. Reynolds, who has come to India in a spirit of purest service. He has no axe of his own to grind and he holds views that may startle even the most advanced nationalist.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. C. Y. CHINTAMANI
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: C.W. 4530. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

[1] *Vide* the following item.

428. THE ISSUE

I gladly publish the foregoing circular letter[1]. I have the privilege of knowing Mr. Horace Alexander personally, and I believe him to be a true friend. Common courtesy demands utmost frankness at this stage. I am as anxious as he and other English friends for honest co-operation as between equals. But the element of equality is wanting. The interview broke on the one single issue of Dominion Status, but not as Mr. Alexander puts it. No promise was asked for, 'that the outcome of the Conference would be the immediate establishment of full Dominion Status'. In the words of the Viceroy this is what was asked for:

> On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation.

This is totally different from what Mr. Horace Alexander has understood. Both Lord Irwin and the Cabinet must have their own opinion apart from Simon Commission. That the latter has been a misfit and misfire everybody knows, though it may not be diplomatic to acknowledge it. If the farce of the Commission needs to be kept up for hoodwinking the British electorate, it is bad game at which the Indian reformer should not be invited to play. In the language of the man in the street, unless the reformer knows that he has in the Cabinet and the Viceroy his staunch supporters, he may not attend the Conference except to court disaster. If all the parties that are likely to be invited could agree upon what they want, they would not need to go to London to demonstrate the fact. The Viceroy knows, the world knows, that the parties that are supposed to represent Indian opinion do not agree and are not likely to agree just yet. For them to be invited

[1] Not reproduced here. In his letter, Horace G. Alexander had described how most English people remained in complete ignorance of Indian conditions and concluded: "Whatever may come, I believe you will not forget that you have friends in England; and you will not forget, as I hope we shall not either, that we are all children of one Father, even though some of us may be erring children. With sincere good wishes for a year that may still belie our fears and more than justify our hopes, . . ."

to London for any proposal they may wish to make is to accentuate their differences. The fact is that there is really only one party in the country that has weight with the masses. It is the Congress. There is perfect agreement among Congressmen as to the demand. But I am free to confess that the Congress does not yet command such recognition from the Government. It has not yet the sanction behind it for enforcing its will. If therefore the Congress sends representatives to a heterogeneous conference, it must know definitely what the British Government intend doing. It must not have an open mind as to what India should have. The Conference, therefore, to serve any useful purpose, must necessarily have only one thing in view, i.e., to frame or recommend a scheme of Dominion Status (now independence) to suit India's needs. This Lord Irwin could not do; hence the break.

The other points raised by Mr. Alexander were never reached at the interview. But there never has been any indication of a real change in the British policy. Political prosecutions, or to speak more correctly, political persecution has never ceased. And it cannot cease unless the British residents in India will be content to live only on the goodwill of the people. And this they will not do, so long as they consider it to be their right to exploit the starving masses of this land. Every approach to the Indian problem is made by them on the basis that British commerce must not suffer. Congressmen hold that British commerce as it is carried on today must suffer a radical change if India is at all to live.

Young India, 6-2-1930

429. SOME IMPLICATIONS

Well might the points suggested by me as for immediate attention[1] raise a storm of indignation in the British Press. They mean more to the British investor, and in fact every Britisher, than Dominion Status or even Independence. Dominion Status or independence may conceivably be hedged in with stipulations that may make it impossible for India to get rid of the burdens that have brought her to the verge of utter starvation. Hitherto progress towards the so-called constitutional freedom has meant more burdens upon the dumb millions and more money into the pockets of the Britisher. And British imagination pictures to itself an India

[1] *Vide* pp. 432-5.

under Dominion Status remaining a perpetual *El Dorado* for the British. If Dominion Status is feared, it is because the reality of it would mean ability to undo continuing wrongs and therefore unjust burdens whether in the shape of Government of India loans or guarantees given to the military and the civil services, or favours shown to British manufactures at the expense of India, or concessions granted to the British trader, capitalist or prospector.

Whether therefore a *bona fide* Round Table Conference comes today or the day after, it is as well to know the truth lying behind the remarkable demonstration of 26th ultimo. The masses feel that the Congress will remove the burdens which they vaguely feel but cannot describe. I venture to claim that in formulating the eleven points, I have somewhat and to the extent of my ability given a concrete shape to their feeling.

It is not difficult to understand the resentment felt in England over the 'demands' nor the hysterics of Sir Malcom Hailey over the idea of repudiating debts in any circumstance whatsoever. Yet that is precisely what every ward, when he comes of age, has the right to do. If he finds the trustee having buttered his own bread at the ward's expense, he makes the trustee pay for his malpractices or misappropriation or breach of trust or whatever other name by which his selfishness may be described. There will thus be no atmosphere for a dispassionate examination of the case of the dumb masses either in India or in England till the Englishmen realize that they must part with some of the ill-gotten gains and cease in future to expect the inflow to England of millions that are annually drained from India under one pretext or another. If the stopping of the drain means a revision of the tastes of the city people of this land who live upon the commission they make from their British principals, it means also that the British as a whole will have to revise their tastes by reason of the sudden stoppage of the millions looted from India for their sakes.

It is clear, that the riches derived from the tillers of the soil are not a voluntary contribution or a contribution compelled for their benefit. The villages are not affected by the *Pax Britannica* so-called; for they were untouched even by the invasions of Timur or Nadirshah. They will remain untouched by anarchy if it comes. But in order that this enormous contribution may be exacted without resistance, violence has been organized by the British Government on a scale unknown before and manipulated in so insidious a manner as not to be easily seen or felt as such. British rule has appeared to me to be a perfect personification of violence. There

are snakes that by their very appearance paralyse their victims. They do not need to make any further demonstration of their power. Even so, I am sorry to have to say, has the British power worked upon us in India. Frightfulness is not a word of Indian coinage. It was coined by a British judge[1] in order to bring vividly to light the meaning of Jallianwala massacre. And we are promised a multiple, if we dare lift up our heads and say: 'We will have no more of this loot that has bled India dry.'

Let us, too, understand how organized violence works and is on that account far more harmful than sporadic, thoughtless, sudden outburst. Ordered violence hides itself often behind camouflage and hypocrisy as we see them working through the declarations of good intentions, commissions, conferences and the like, or even through measures conceived as tending to the public benefit but in reality to the benefit of the wrongdoer. Greed and deceit are often the offspring as they are equally often the parents of violence. Naked violence repels like the naked skeleton shorn of flesh, blood and the velvety skin. It cannot last long. But it persists fairly long when it wears the mask of peace and progress so-called.

Such awe-inspiring violence concealed under a 'golden lid' begets the violence of the weak which in its turn works secretly and sometimes openly.

Non-violence has to work in the midst of this double violence. But if it is the supreme law governing mankind, it must be able to make its way in the face of the heaviest odds. Violence such as we have to face may well make us cowards utterly unable to discover the method of working non-violence. If therefore the forces of violence arrayed against us cannot be checkmated during our time, it would be no proof of the futility of non-violence, it would certainly be proof of the pervading cowardice.

The greatest obstacle in the path of non-violence is the presence in our midst of the indigenous interests that have sprung up from British rule, the interests of monied men, speculators, scrip holders, land-holders, factory owners and the like. All these do not always realize that they are living on the blood of the masses, and when they do, they become as callous as the British principals whose tools and agents they are. If like the Japanese samurai they could but realize that they must give up their blood-stained gains, the battle is won for non-violence. It must not be difficult for them to see that the holding of millions is a

[1] Justice Rankin; *vide* Vol. XVII, p. 175.

crime when millions of their own kith and kin are starving and that therefore they must give up their agency. No principal has yet been found able to work without faithful agents.

But non-violence has to be patient with these as with the British principals. The aim of the non-violent worker must ever be to convert. He may not however wait endlessly. When therefore the limit is reached, he takes risks and conceives plans of active satyagraha which may mean civil disobedience and the like. His patience is never exhausted to the point of giving up his creed. But working in a hostile atmosphere, he runs the risk of forces of violence, which till then were held under check from mutual fear, being let loose through the restraint of such fear being removed. The Government will spread out its red paws in what it will call self-defence, the party of violence may commit the mistake of seeing its chance of coming out in the open. The non-violent party must then prove its creed by being ground to powder between the two millstones. If there is such a party, all is well for India and the world. My hope and plans are built upon an ever-increasing faith in the existence of that party of true non-violence.

Young India, 6-2-1930

430. NOTES

The Finishing Touch

It will be remembered that the Broomfield Committee[1], whilst holding that the Bardoli peasants' complaints were substantially justified, and cancelling the enhanced assessment to the extent of something over 89,379 rupees, still recommended a net increase of Rs. 30,806 over the old assessment. But there was a legal flaw about this recommendation. Government seem to have rectified the error by revising the assessment in something like 40 villages, and now they are making arrangements for giving full effect to the Broomfield Committee's recommendations about the rectification of errors in the classification of lands and kindred matters. The net result of all this might amount to, in effect, a restoration of the old assessment of the Taluk. That would put a finishing touch to the success of that historic struggle. No wonder that an English friend, writing to Mahadev Desai about his *Story of Bardoli*, says, "Lahore made me feel most sceptical of the power

[1] Comprising R. S. Broomfield and R. M. Maxwell

of India to work unitedly and effectively for swaraj, but the *Story of Bardoli* has more than answered my fears."

Though both the Lahore demonstration and the Bardoli struggle were offshoots of the Congress, the difference the English friend noticed is easily explained. The Lahore demonstration was the whole Congress at its best and its worst. It necessarily included every variety of character. Moreover it was the yearly deliberative function. The Bardoli struggle on the other hand was a Congress body in action. It was Congressmen who conceived it. The Sardar[1] himself was the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, and he mobilized the whole resources of the Committee for the struggle. The forces of violence were hushed in the presence of non-violent action. It remains to be seen how the all-India struggle for independence will shape. The law that governed the Bardoli struggle which centred round a local grievance will govern the greater struggle for independence. The partakers will have to be strictly non-violent; they will have to visualize the grievance of slavery as the Bardoli peasant visualized the grievance of an unjust assessment; they will have to submit to the strictest discipline even as the Bardoli peasants did.

The Poet on Bardoli

The Bard of Shantiniketan[2] writing to Mahadev Desai on his *Story of Bardoli* says:

> I have finished your *Story of Bardoli*. It has the spirit of the Epic Age in its narrative of the triumph of moral right over arbitrary power through a fight moral in character, unique in modern times. I thank you, and the leader of the fight and the fighters, also your great guide. My blessings.

Let us all on whom the Poet showers his blessings accept them in all humility and qualify ourselves for the task that awaits us. For if the blessings pronounced by the great are given for something accomplished, they also carry with them the expectation of something greater still.

Young India, 6-2-1930

[1] Vallabhbhai Patel
[2] Rabindranath Tagore

431. *WHY 'PURNA' SWARAJ?*

A fair friend writes:[1]

This letter raises two questions. I shall take the last first. To qualify 'swaraj' is no doubt doing violence to art. The writer's logic is also irresistible. But very often in national and similar complex matters logic and art have apparently to be sacrificed. In substance that which carries out a good intention is both true logic and true art. 'Swaraj' in the Congress constitution was given a double meaning; it could be within the Empire if possible, without if necessary. A word or an expression had therefore to be found in order to connote the last meaning only. We could not do without the word 'swaraj'. Hence the expedience of '*purna* swaraj'. I admit that it does not sound well to the ear. But if it carries out the nation's meaning as it does, it will presently sound well. We could not have managed with a dubious word.

The second question is more difficult to dispose of. But attainment of swaraj means conquest over all difficulties. Non-violence or rather non-violent men are on their trial. They have to find out the best method of offering battle in spite of the violent atmosphere surrounding them. Non-violence is not of much consequence if it can flourish only in a congenial atmosphere. It is not then non-violence. It may easily be fear of being hurt. But my reading of the national temper is somewhat different from the friend's. Dissensions and squabbles do not affect those who have ultimately to take part in the struggle. The latter will instinctively react to active non-violence. But whether they do or not, the party of non-violence must now use up all its resources. There can be no more waiting without its creed being laughed at or itself being thoroughly and rightly discredited. If it cannot act, it must own its incapacity and retire from the field of battle.

Young India, 6-2-1930

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had doubted the nation's capacity to win independence by non-violent means and questioned the propriety of prefixing the adjective '*purna*' to 'swaraj'.

432. CONFUSION OF THOUGHT

A correspondent who is an honours graduate and an LL.B. writes:[1]

This letter shows how even a trained lawyer can become confused when he is obsessed with an idea. The group that would not have liked the interview to succeed is the very group I had in mind. They are not the avowed enemies of India, but they are 'deluded patriots'. The other group the writer refers to could never concoct a plot to assassinate the Viceroy for whose protection they are paid. Of course nothing is impossible, but we can only act on probabilities. Moreover the outrage deserves condemnation even if the plotter was a person belonging to a Government department. The Congress could not pass the incident by without laying itself open to the charge of hypocrisy or criminal indifference about its own creed.

And why am I guilty of participating in violence when I condemn the outrage? Condemnation or no condemnation, the Government would go its own way in trying to find out the guilty parties. I would be participator in violence if I approved of the penal code and its sanctions. If I had my way I would fling open doors of prisons and discharge even murderers. But I know that in holding this opinion, I am in the proud position of being in the minority of one. I must not however take up the valuable time of the reader by discussing my pet theories about crimes and punishments.

The writer pays poor compliment to the party of violence or by whatever name it may be called, when he imputes to them fear of death. They forfeited their lives when they dedicated themselves to their creed. That they keep themselves in hiding does not mean that they fear death, but it means that they want to hang on to life as long as possible so as to carry out their project. They stand in no need of my protection, active or passive. They know that I hold their lives as dear as my own, but they know too that I am a determined enemy of their creed. But my

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. Referring to Gandhiji's article "Cult of the Bomb", pp. 361-4, the correspondent had written that the bomb outrage might have been manoeuvred by the guardians of law and order to justify their existence or magnify their importance.

enmity resolves itself into an attempt to convert them to my own. Condemnation of the outrage was a method of conversion. That it may fail in its purpose does not affect it. I must act according to my lights and leave the result to the Higher Power.

Lastly, the writer's complaint that I had not a word to say about the policy that is responsible for the existence of the cult of the bomb shows what a superficial reader of *Young India* he must be. He must know that almost every issue of *Young India* contains some condemnation of the Government policy. What perhaps he means is that I should have said something about it in the very article. Well, it would have been wholly irrelevant, and what is more, my analysis of the doings of the cult would have lost much of its force. The point to be made in the article was that violence was ineffective, no matter how wicked was the policy of the Government.

Young India, 6-2-1930

433. "KHADI PRADARSHAK"

The book series called *Navajivan Mala* of the Shuddha Khadi Bhandar of Calcutta has already been mentioned by me in a former issue of *Hindi Navajivan*. I have, today, before me the booklet *Khadi Pradarshak* published by this Bhandar. This is the fifteenth number of the series. Besides the eight pages of appendix, it has eighty-six pages and costs only four annas. This booklet is a Hindi translation of the *Khadi Guide* published by the Charkha Sangh. A lot of information has been given in this guide. It gives particulars of the progress of khadi in every province, the output and the sales in each one of them. Every person who loves khadi should have a copy of this booklet. There are several addresses where the books of *Navajivan Mala* are obtainable. The principal one is 132/1 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-2-1930

434. VARNADHARMA AND DUTY OF LABOUR[1]-I

Questions asked and my answers to them are given below:

Q: Do you accept the duty of [bread] labour expounded by Tolstoy?

A: Yes, certainly.

Q: Do you expect that every person should do all his work himself?

A: I do not expect it and I do not think it practicable; Tolstoy too did not consider this essential. Man's dependence is no less than his independence. So long as he remains in society, and remain he must, he has to curtail his independence to fit into that of others, that is, society. Therefore it can only be said that each person, as far as it is possible, must do his work himself; that is to say, I may fill a mug for my use, but may not dig a well myself. Not to fill the mug is pride; to plan or begin digging a well is stupidity. One must, therefore, exercise discretion in deciding whether a task is to be done by oneself or with the help of others.

Q: Do you wish that all should earn their livelihood by the sweat of the brow?

A: Certainly. Everyone does not do so and that is why dire poverty has arisen in the world and especially so in India. This is also the main cause of ill health and the immense greed for acquisition of wealth. If all earned their livelihood by physical work, greed would decrease and much of the power to acquire wealth would weaken automatically. If physical labour is done, ill health will almost disappear and the greatest gain will be the complete obliteration of the distinction between high and low in society.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-2-1930

[1] Published serially in four consecutive issues of *Hindi Navajivan*

435. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

February 6, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I never thought you would miss the importance of the 11 points.[1] However I do not propose to waste your time by arguing when a day or two after this reaches you you will be on your way to Sabarmati. I expect you here for certain on 12th. I hope to satisfy you that our case has been strengthened not weakened by the 11 points. Will Kamala accompany you?

Yours,
BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

436. LETTER TO LILAVATI KODIDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 6, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. It will be a good thing if you form the habit of writing with ink and in a good hand. See that you keep hysteria at arm's length now. You should reason with Uncle and explain to him that, since the jewellery is lying unused, it would be better to [sell it and] get interest on the money. Do not be in a hurry to return. You are, however, free to return as soon as you can do so with complete peace of mind. Live on milk and fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. LILAVATIBEHN KODIDAS
C/o MR. DWARKADAS GOKULDAS
KALBADEVI, BOMBAY NO. 2

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9271

[1] *Vide* pp. 432-5.

437. *MY NOTES*

Our Carelessness

A friend writes:[1]

As has been stated above, there is no doubt that smokers transgress limits, and non-smokers do not even attempt to prevent the former from smoking, out of shame or fear. We no longer have such respect for women that in their presence we would not smoke, would not use obscene language or be guilty of any other discourteous conduct!

I cannot blame the railway servants in this matter. What can they do when passengers themselves are indifferent to their own comforts? We should bear in mind that these persons do not take up employment for the service of others. Moreover, even in accordance with the law, they have no authority to prevent without reason any passenger from smoking. This is because the regulations do not prohibit smoking under all circumstances, but only when one passenger objects to another doing so when the latter happens to be smoking in a compartment which is not meant for smokers. How can an officer know whether or not a particular passenger has been asked not to smoke? Hence so long as any passenger does not complain, the officer does not have the authority to prevent anyone from smoking.

Volunteers can render much assistance in this. They can politely reason with smokers and, if the latter are not amenable to reason, they can complain to the officer and pull the alarm-chain and stop the train. But I would not advise them to do this.

Difficulties are bound to arise in trying all at once to enforce a regulation, enforcement of which has not been attempted since it was made. Clashes too will arise. Hence, for the present, the task of the volunteers consists in educating public opinion and in explaining to the non-smokers their rights and to the smokers their limits. When the passengers begin to understand this matter and the smokers realize that many people are inconvenienced by their smoking, it is possible that they will stop doing so. Moreover, a satyagrahi volunteer will not as far as possible make anyone obey regulations by getting him punished. By trying to per-

[1] The letter is not translated here.

form the duty of a policeman a reformer often fails to perform his own duty. The dharma of a reformer lies in trying to bring about a change of heart in those who violate regulations. In the beginning, patience is required for doing this but in the end the result endures and becomes widespread. Despite this, where certain ill habits have taken root, the law where it prevails can be helpful in eradicating them. This has happened in the past and will also happen in the future; for instance, the task of prohibition can be carried on very speedily if it is given the backing of law. Those who are addicted to smoking have formed such an evil habit that they would seldom listen to anyone however courteously they may be approached. For the enthusiastic volunteer, therefore, this is a fine occasion for testing his own forbearance and courtesy. In doing so, the volunteers can also utilize this fine occasion for cultivating among the people respect towards women. And, an attempt can be made to prevent those who create public nuisance just as those addicted to smoking keep doing so on all occasions without any consideration for the feelings of others.

Khadi while Abroad

A gentleman asks:[1]

I do not think so. If after going abroad, it is desirable or necessary to compete with the Britishers in all matters, why not do so here also? With regard to virtues, we should always compete with an enemy, with regard to vices, there can be no such competition. Anyone who wishes to wear khadi can do so even when he is abroad. When Pandit Motilal went abroad, he had his entire outfit — from head to foot — made out of khadi. The definition of khadi here also includes material which is made out of hand-spun and hand-woven wool. It is true that I have expressed an opinion that there is no reason to regard khadi as something compulsory when living abroad. It may not be possible there to get the kind of khadi one requires or it may not be possible to buy the quality one wants as it may be too expensive; in that case, it would not be regarded as *adharma* to buy cloth which is mill-made but swadeshi or even that which is foreign.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-2-1930

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had sought advice whether Indians going abroad might give up khadi and compete with the British in all matters.

metalled roads and add to the wealth of the village. Moreover, both the young and the old would get true education free of charge through such co-operative activity. As far as possible, villagers should employ no labourers for any work. The village inhabitants are mostly peasants and hence their own labourers.

When necessary they may ask their neighbours to help them. By giving a little of their time to the roads daily, the village people would soon set their roads right. To be able to do this, they should prepare a map of the village streets and also of the approach roads leading to neighbouring villages. Then they should arrange a programme of work according to their capacity so that, men, women and children, all might participate to some extent. The present state of our culture embraces family life only. The improvement of villages depends upon an extension of the family feeling to the whole village. The look of our villages would be a measure of our culture. Just as every member in a family joins in keeping the home clean, every family should be prepared to do the same for the village. Not until this is done can the village people live happily and become self-reliant. Today, however, we look up for everything to the Government — for clearing dung-hills, for making the roads and keeping them in repair, for cleansing wells and ponds, for children's education, for protection against wild animals, for protection of our property, etc. This attitude of the mind has crippled and disabled us. This helplessness goes on ever increasing and adds to the burden of taxes. If all the villagers regard themselves answerable for the cleanliness, the neatness and the safety of the place they live in, most of the necessary improvement would take place immediately and almost without cost. Moreover, with increased facilities for travel and transport and with improved health, the economic condition of the village would also improve.

Some application of intellect is certainly needed for cleaning the roads. I have already spoken of the road map. All the villages do not have the same kind of facilities for building good metalled roads. Some villages may have stone, but in several regions of Bihar no amount of search would find any stone. What ways should be adopted to make strong roads is left to the volunteers contemplated in this series of articles. Let him go and examine the neighbourhood. Let him see if there is anything worth learning from Government methods in the matter. One could certainly adopt such Government methods for making strong roads as are suitable. At times we might come across village elders who have much practical knowledge of such matters. The village worker should

have no hesitation in finding and using such talent in the countryside. As in other matters, so in this one of making strong roads, let the village worker make a beginning by setting an example with his own personal labour.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-2-1930

441. LETTER TO PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 9, 1930

MY DEAR SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS,

I thank you for your letter[1].

I must not enter into argument with you, for argument is useless when conviction on either side is deep-seated. I can only give you my assurance that I shall take no hasty step. A risky step need not necessarily be a hasty step.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS
BIRLA HOUSE, ALBUQUERQUE ROAD
NEW DELHI

Purshottamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 96, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

442. LETTER TO R. B. MOTWANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 9, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

The problem you present should not cause any difficulty to a real lover of his country. He will neither marry nor fall other-

[1] Wherein the addressee had written: "I do not believe India will benefit either now or within a few decades by revolution as much as by a process of evolution. . . . If the constitution is not sufficiently changed after the Conference in London as to make us masters in our own house . . . I can understand your impatience. But to resort to civil disobedience during the brief intervening period does strike me as being a hasty step."

wise. Love of the country should be sufficient to keep him untouched by base passions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

R. B. MOTWANI
C/o SIND CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.
KARACHI (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 2777

443. LETTER TO CHHOTUBHAI PATEL

February 10, 1930

BHAI CHHOTUBHAI,

It saves me time to write out a reply instead of asking you to come over. When one comes across a suitable girl one can hardly resist the temptation to marry. You may, if you can, overcome the temptation, if you are convinced of the greatness of *brahmacharya.* If you insist more and more on qualifications in the bride, you would find no one eligible. You would find them all [fit] to be your sisters; but no one to be your wife.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10469

444. LETTER TO KUNVARJI PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 12, 1930

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. Chi. Rami will leave for Rajkot by the 6th or the 7th[1]. Will that be all right and serve the purpose? I hope you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9715

[1] According to the Gujarati calendar

445. AN ADVOCATE'S DILEMMA

The following[1] from an advocate has been passed on to me for reply:

The dilemma is there. My sympathies and my opinion are with the advocate. But the argument goes deeper than the advocate has carried it. When I use a postage stamp or a coin bearing the King's portrait, I seem to belie my profession of independence. When I obey a policeman's instructions or pay taxes, I acknowledge the King's authority. And some of these things I should be doing even if we declared an independent parallel government which we have not as yet. How am I to solve the puzzle? Must I, because I do not or cannot go the 'whole hog', continue to bear allegiance to the King? One escape from the dilemma is to withdraw all such voluntary co-operation as it is possible for me to withdraw and as is calculated to diminish the prestige and the authority of that rule. The Congress could not go further than it did without weaning from it a large number of useful and able workers. Experience has shown that the Congress organization breaks down where lawyers withdraw their assistance. They have from the very commencement taken the most active and effective part in the Congress. It is unfortunate, that the other classes still feel powerless to run Congress Committees without the assistance of lawyers. They are called officers of the Court. They know what foreign rule means. By training they are the fittest to carry on political agitation when they are honestly and patriotically moved. They have undoubtedly done much for the national movement, but much more is expected from them. And I have no doubt, that when the movement demands from them the last sacrifice, many if not all of them will prove equal to it. Meanwhile since the Congress has not declared boycott of law-courts, the matter rests with individual conscience. Where, consistently with it, a lawyer cannot both practise and remain in the Congress and cannot give up practice, he may give up Congress, and still help it as effectively as if he was in it, provided of course that he believes in independence being the right and the

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had asked how a practising lawyer owing allegiance to the King could be a member of the Congress after the independence resolution.

duty of every Indian to work for and achieve. I may mention incidentally that many lawyers think that they have a lien on the Congress, and they resent as intrusion the advent of laymen to office; whereas they should deem it a privilege to prepare laymen to take office and make them feel that, if they the laymen have bravery and sacrifice, they can run Congress organizations just as well as lawyers. Indeed there are today several Committees that are being efficiently and ably managed by non-professional men. The movement in that direction however needs to receive a much greater impetus. We want a Committee in every one of the seven hundred thousand villages. Thank God we have not got in all India even seventy thousand lawyers. Cobblers, scavengers, tanners, tailors, bricklayers and the like should be found willing and able to work Congress Committees. The educated few can hasten the event, if they will.

Young India, 13-2-1930

446. 'THE DUTY OF LAWYERS'

The first number of the English edition of the bulletin of the Organizing Committee of the International Juridical Conference has been on my file for the past three or four months. The bulletin is edited by a Board of Directors drawn from Austria, Czekoslovakia, Cuba, France, Germany, Holland, Indonesia, Mexico, Poland and Venezuela. The Organizing Secretary is Dr. Alfred Apfel of Berlin where the bulletin is issued. The editorial notice says that the bulletin is only a temporary publication. The opening article is headed the 'Duty of Lawyers' from which I take the following two interesting sections[1] as being not irrelevant in the present times in India.

Young India, 13-2-1930

[1] Not reproduced here. The extracts described how the fundamental rights in a democracy are abridged through the creation of extraordinary courts and emergency laws and the attitude a jurist should adopt in the situation.

447. MY INCONSISTENCIES

Thus writes Sjt. Trivikramrav, a Bezwada barrister:[1]

Some others have also written much in the same fashion. I must admit my many inconsistencies. But since I am called 'Mahatma', I might well endorse Emerson's saying that 'foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds'. There is, I fancy, a method in my inconsistencies. In my opinion there is a consistency running through my seeming inconsistencies, as in nature there is a unity running through seeming diversity.

Boycott of legislatures is wholly consistent with the demand for the reforms suggested in the eleven points.[2] I would myself sit if need be in a legislature in which the passage of the reforms is assured. But the existing legislatures are powerless to pass most of those measures if any at all. I have not said that the struggle for independence is to cease the moment [the] eleven points are gained. What I have said is that, if they are gained, the Congress will lift the ban on the Conference and that civil disobedience will be suspended. The points were mentioned in order to prevent the misconception that the Viceroy's speech had given rise to. Even an Independence Constitution is not an end in itself. Independence is wanted in order to remove the grievous defects of the present rule. Independence means at least those eleven points, if it means anything at all to the masses, the man in the street. Mere withdrawal of the English is not independence. It means the consciousness in the average villager that he is the maker of his own destiny, he is his own legislator through his chosen representatives. The eleven points are some of the vital tests of the villager's authority. The very letter of the Bezwada barrister shows how necessary it was to clear the issue. By mentioning the eleven points I have given a body in part to the elusive word independence. I should be prepared to reconsider my attitude towards the legislatures if the legislators can accomplish the things covered by the eleven points. And if they are covered, I should have no hesitation in advising Congress representation at the Conference where inde-

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had pointed to the inconsistency of advocating boycott of legislatures while voicing 'minimum demands' and allowing Congressmen to associate with local bodies.

[2] *Vide* pp. 432-5.

pendence could be made the basis. For I do conceive the possibility of a conference even for discussingan Independe nce Constitution.

As to the local bodies, I am aware of my weakness. I have little faith in their substantial usefulness. I admit that they have led to bad blood and disgraceful wrangling. But one cannot take things by storm in a vast body like the Congress. There is no question now of capturing local bodies. A wise and selfless man, when he finds that he can render no service through these bodies, will retire from them as did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Babu Rajendra Prasad.

As for my leadership, if I have it, it has not come for any seeking, it is a fruit of faithful service. A man can as little discard such leadership as he can the colour of his skin. And since I have become an integral part of the nation, it has to keep me with all my faults and shortcomings, of some of which I am painfully conscious and of many others of which candid critics, thanks be to them, never fail to remind me. Of this however I am certain, that if they and those who would never criticize me will have the patience to understand my programme and have the steadfastness to follow it, *purna* swaraj is near.

Young India, 13-2-1930

448. *TREATMENT OF SMALLPOX*

Friends have pressed me to publish the modes of the treatment of smallpox patients. The Udyoga Mandir has not escaped the infection. There have been in all seven cases in the Mandir. One has proved fatal. It is possible to say that that case was not treated like the rest. It was an early case, and I feel guilty of having shown want of firmness. Contrary to my conviction, the girl remained without hydropathic treatment and was permitted even to take solid food. The treatment adopted in the cases that have recovered or that I hope will recover was:

1. Complete rest;
2. Free ventilation;
3. Light received through a red medium;
4. No solid food, and milk diluted with equal quantity of water when there was no fever; otherwise orange juice or dried grapes juice;
5. Occasional opening medicine and regular enema;

6. Wet sheet pack. Rolling the patient in a sheet wrung out of cold water and put between blankets till perspiration.

During the 1915 epidemic I had two very serious cases of confluent smallpox. I knew nothing then of red light treatment. In the 1916 cases the boys were given a bath daily with hot water in which *neem* leaves were boiled. This was regarded by me somewhat a substitute for Condy's fluid. After convalescence the boys were stronger than before.

The treatment given in a book called *Why Vaccinate* by Harold W. Whiston, price 6d., published in Macclesfield by Claye, Brown and Claye is copied below.[1] The book can be also had from the National Anti-Vaccination League, 50 Parliament Street, London, S.W.

I have no doubt that more people die of fright than of disease itself. I notice this fright even in my children who, poor things, have been taught from childhood to dread the disease. There is no reason whatsoever that smallpox is any more fatal than many other diseases. Smallpox yields to nature's treatment just as well as any other illness. It is nature's way of purging the body of latent poison. In order to drive away the fright and to prevent simple people from rushing to the vaccination depot, I give the most salient passages from the book to show how unnecessary, even dangerous and filthy the practice of vaccination is.

This is how a medical man describes the process of preparing lymph:[2]

The following emphatic testimony[3] against vaccination of Dr. Walter R. Hadwen will be read with interest.

There is ample other medical evidence against vaccination collected in the booklet.

Young India, 13-2-1930

[1], [2] & [3] Not reproduced here

449. NOTES

AMAZING IGNORANCE

The Secretary, C.P. (Marathi) Congress Committee, writes:

> In the C.P. Legislative Council, while opposing the motion of Mr. G. R. Pradhan, recommending to the Local Government a grant of amnesty to political prisoners, etc., Mr. Gordon on behalf of the Local Government is reported to have stated that offenders like Avari, who incited murders and preached open violence, would never be pardoned by the Government.

The ignorance of some of these officials is equalled only by their arrogance. They do not even care to study the facts on which they claim to speak with authority. If Mr. Gordon had taken the trouble to inquire, he would have discovered that Sjt. Avari had never incited to murder or violence. Whatever his faults, he was never guilty of incitement to violence. And Mr. Gordon added injury to insult by associating Sjt. Avari's name with pardon. If I know him at all, I know that he will never be guilty of asking for pardon. As a satyagrahi that he has always professed to be, he could not ask for pardon. If he commits an offence, he serves his deserved punishment; if he seeks imprisonment as a civil resister, he could never seek pardon.

MORE TEMPLES OPENED

The Anti-Untouchability Committee appointed by the Working Committee is making steady progress. It reports that eight more temples owned by the Telugu Munurvar community residing in cosmopolitan Bombay were declared open on 2nd instant to the so-called 'untouchables'. This opening was no hurried matter. The proposal was discussed in various meetings of the community, and the temples were thrown open to the 'untouchables' only when there was almost complete unanimity. At the last meeting presided over by Advocate Sayaji Lakshman Silam, member of the Corporation, there was only one dissentient when the final vote was taken. The resolution also appealed to the suppressed brethren to carry out internal reforms.

The Committee further reports that Dr. Patwardhan of Amraoti, President of the Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal,

which has 4 branches in the town besides the Central Gymnasium which alone has a daily attendance of about 1,000 boys, and which has about 50 branches throughout Berar, has addressed a letter to the Secretary, Anti-Untouchability Committee, in the course of which he says:[1]

> Boys of the so-called untouchable classes are admitted to our gymnasiums along with the boys of the so-called caste Hindus on terms of absolute equality, and no distinction whatever is made as to their instruction or treatment. . . .

These are encouraging events. All the parties concerned deserve congratulations. But for the ready atmosphere Advocate Silam could never have carried the whole of the Munurvar community with him. Dr. Patwardhan's letter does not surprise me. He is an old worker in the field, and it would have been surprising indeed if he had been found behind the times. Let us hope that before long temples and institutions shutting their doors against the suppressed classes will be among the exceptions and not the rule as they still unfortunately are today. The appeal made by the Munurvars to the suppressed class for internal reform is quite relevant. The two movements, internal reform by the latter and repentance by the so-called 'touchables', should go hand in hand.

Overcrowding in Trains

Sjt. T. N. Sharma of Anandaniketan, Andhra Desha, writes:[2]

In my opinion the idea of stopping the train by pulling the chain to avoid overcrowding is quite sound. If the railway authorities enforce the rule of numbers for 1st and 2nd class compartments, why will they not for the 3rd class? The overcrowding is at times suffocating as was described the other day by Shrimati Mirabehn in these pages.[3] It is largely greed of profits that makes the authorities indifferent to the comfort of the uncomplaining submissive 3rd class passengers who provide the profits, not 1st and 2nd class passengers. It will be interesting to know why Sjt. Shrihariray is being prosecuted if the facts are as stated above.

Five Conundrums

Sjt. P. K. Majumdar, Bar-at-Law of Jalapahar, asks the following questions which are preceded by a long argument which I omit, as it is contained in the questions themselves:

[1] Only an extract is reproduced here.

[2] The letter is not reproduced here. It described how a young man campaigned against overcrowding in trains and how he was arrested.

[3] *Vide* pp. 261-2.

Disparities will always be there, but like the several leaves of a tree they will look beautiful and pleasant. In the pure varnadharma disparity is no doubt there, and when it was in its pure form, it was pleasing, peaceful and pretty. But when several people use their talents for amassing wealth, distressing disparities are created. Just as, if a teacher (Brahmin), a soldier (Kshatriya), a businessman (Vaishya) and a carpenter (Shudra) follow their professions for amassing wealth, not for the welfare of society, then varnadharma is destroyed. Because in matters of duty there can be no room whatever for amassing wealth. In society there is need for teachers, lawyers, doctors, soldiers and others. But when they work for selfish ends they no longer are protectors of society but become parasites on society.

The *Gita*, III. 10 has expounded a great principle where it says:

Together with sacrifice did the Lord of beings create, of old, mankind, declaring: "By this shall ye increase; may this be to you the giver of all your desires."

Now we can clearly comprehend the etymology of the word *yajna*. The meaning of *yajna* is manual work and this is the first and foremost act of worship of God. He has given us bodies. Without food the body cannot exist and without labour food cannot be produced. That is why manual labour has become a universal duty. This duty of labour is not Tolstoy's alone but of the whole world. Ignorance of this great *yajna* has led to the worship of mammon in the world and intelligent people have used their talents to exploit others. It is clear that God is not covetous. Being all powerful, He creates every day only as much food as is sufficient for every human being or living creature. Not knowing this great truth, several people indulge in all kinds of luxuries and thereby starve many others. If they could give up this greed and work for their living, and eat enough to meet their needs, the poverty that we find today will vanish. I hope the interrogator would now see that varnadharma and duty of labour are concurrent, complementary and essential.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 13-2-1930

451. *LETTER TO KASTURBEHN BHATT*

February 14, 1930

CHI. KASTURBEHN BHATT,[1]

Where are you [now]? You may write to me. Have you now mastered all the things? Do you meet Harihar? Where are Taranath, Tansukh?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9249

452. *LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI*

February 15, 1930

BHAI NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. I understand your feelings. Doctor will not desire to do anything which may make you unhappy. I will write to him.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SJT. NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI
JETPUR, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2581

453. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM*

February 15, 1930

Gandhiji addressing the inmates referred to the names he had received and said that it was not necessary that one and all should give their names. If they felt the slightest doubt about their ability to join the campaign they might withdraw their names even then.

He continued:

People expect you to join in the fight with great preparedness on your part. The whole world is looking at the Ashram

[1] Wife of Harihar P. Bhatt, an inmate of the Ashram

with great expectancy. It may be that you might not be ready when you joined the Ashram, but the discipline and atmosphere must have brought that much confidence in you and must have helped you in preparing yourselves for the ensuing fight.

Gandhiji apprised them of the sufferings and hardships they would have to undergo during the fight. They might be sent to jail, and they might be beaten, but that was not all. They might have to go without food or might be driven out of the Ashram or a worse fate might befall them. But under all circumstances they must be prepared to remain non-violent in thought and in action and must never lose their temper or get angry. They must try to have a thorough change of heart. The time might come when even God might be angry with them, but they must not lose patience.

He continued:

Suffering is writ large on the face of every devotee. Even Rama and Sita had to suffer. God tests you on the touchstone and if it is found that you have withstood that test, then nothing remains to be desired. In the Ashram itself, you have enjoyed yourselves to a certain extent, but enjoyment is worth while only when you show your mettle and sacrifice yourself when the time comes. You must now convert the Ashram into a lamp of sacrifice. Those who feel themselves weak or unable to join the fight must quit the Ashram. Once you have plunged yourselves in battle, if you retreat, it will be a blemish on you and blot on the whole fair name of India.

The Hindu, 17-2-1930

454. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

February 18, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I have your two letters. I miss you these days. But I have deliberately refrained from sending for you. I feared that it might arouse envy. What more can I talk to you about ahimsa? I have always discussed only ahimsa. However, if you feel the necessity of talking over anything, do not hesitate to come.

I believe they will arrest me in the middle of March. I expect my letter to the Viceroy will be despatched on the 2nd.

I had some talk with Antarjami. It was not very satisfying. I am awaiting the arrival of Shankerlal [Banker]. It will be good if the Utkal work is organized well.

I am awaiting Hemprabha Devi's letter. How is she keeping?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Do tell me if you find any difficulty with my handwriting or language.[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1615

455. LETTER TO UDIT MISHRA

February 19, 1930

BHAI UDIT MISHRAJI,

Only today have I been able to read your letter to the end.

Persons with views or faith contrary to ours should never be employed to teach our children. And in no case should half the study time be devoted only to English. Knowledge of Hindi is not essential for an English teacher.

If the children [distrust][2] any teacher, he ought to be removed.

When a junior teacher gives wrong lessons to the children, it is the duty of the Head Master to check him. It is also his duty to warn the guardians of the children if he notices any impropriety in the conduct of the junior.

The consideration of anyone's pleasure or displeasure has no place in following the right path.

The children should be taught to reject courteously gifts of foreign articles by whomsoever made.

Sacrificial spinning on the *takli* should never be given up; I am arranging to send *taklis*.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

It would be right to inform Ghanshyamdasji of all this. This letter too may be shown to him.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4219

[1] In the G. N. series this is the first letter in Hindi to the addressee.

[2] The source is illegible.

456. '*NEVER FAILETH*'

अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः[1]

'HATE DISSOLVES IN THE PRESENCE OF LOVE.'

In the opinion of the Working Committee civil disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving *purna* swaraj as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organization not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorizes him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated to start civil disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full co-operation in every way possible, and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary co-operation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their co-operation or renounce benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom. The Working Committee trusts, that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them, will carry on the Congress organization, and guide the movement to the best of their ability.

This resolution[2] of the Working Committee gives me my charter of freedom if it also binds me in the tightest chains. It is the formula of which I have been in search these long and weary months. For me the resolution is not so much a political as a religious effort. My difficulty was fundamental. I saw that I could not work out ahimsa through an organization holding a variety of mentalities. It could not be subject to the decision of majorities. To be consistent with itself, it might have to be inconsistent with the whole world.

[1] Patanjali's *Yogadarshanam*, ii. 35

[2] Adopted on February 15, 1930 at Ahmedabad

A person who has a choice before him is ever exposed to temptation. The instinct of those therefore, with whom non-violence is a policy, when tempted by violence, may fail them. That of those who have no remedy but non-violence open to them can never fail them if they have non-violence in them in reality. Hence the necessity for freedom from Congress control. And I was thankful that the members of the Working Committee saw the utter correctness of my position.

It is to be hoped, that no one will misunderstand the position. Here there is no question of superiority. Those, who hold non-violence for the attainment of freedom as an article of faith, are in no way superior to those with whom it is a mere policy, even as there is no such inequality between brown men and yellow men. Each acts according to his lights.

The responsibility devolving on me is the greatest I have ever undertaken. It was irresistible. But all will be well, if it is ahimsa that is guiding me. For the seer who knew what he gave to the world has said, 'Hate dissolves in the presence of ahimsa.' The true rendering of the word in English is love or charity. And does not the Bible say:

> Love worketh no ill to his neighbour,
> Believeth all things,
> Hopeth all things,
> Never faileth.[1]

Civil disobedience is sometimes a peremptory demand of love. Dangerous it undoubtedly is, but no more than the encircling violence. Civil disobedience is the only non-violent escape from its soul-destroying heat. The danger lies only in one direction, in the outbreak of violence side by the side with civil disobedience. If it does I know now the way; not the retracing as at the time of Bardoli.[2] The struggle, in freedom's battle, of non-violence against violence, no matter from what quarter the latter comes, must continue till a single representative is left alive. More no man can do, to do less would be tantamount to want of faith.

Young India, 20-2-1930

[1] *I Corinthians*, xiii
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXII.

457. *SOME QUESTIONS*

With reference to the imminent civil disobedience some pertinent questions have been put by friends as well as critics. These need answering.

Q. Surely you are not so impatient as to start your campaign without letting the authorities know your plans and giving them an opportunity of meeting you and arresting you?

A. Those who know my past should know that I hold it to be contrary to satyagraha to do anything secretly or impatiently. My plans will be certainly sent to the Viceroy before I take any definite step. A satyagrahi has no secrets to keep from his opponent or so-called enemy.

Q. Did you not say even at Lahore that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience, especially no-tax campaign on a mass scale?

A. I am not even now sure that it is. But it has become clear to me as never before that the unpreparedness in the sense that a non-violent atmosphere is wanting will, as time goes by, very likely increase as it has been increasing all these years. Young men are impatient. I know definitely many stayed their violent designs because in 1921 the Congress had decided to offer civil disobedience. That school has been more active than before because of my repeated declarations that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience. I feel then that if non-violence is an active force, as I know it is, it should work even in the face of the most violent atmosphere. One difficulty in the way was that the Congress claiming to represent the whole nation could not very well offer civil disobedience and disown responsibility for violence especially by Congressmen. I have procured discharge from that limitation by taking over the responsibility for launching on civil disobedience. I represent no one but myself and at the most those whom I may enroll for the campaign. And I propose at present to confine myself only to those who are amenable to the Ashram discipline and have actually undergone it for some time. It is true that I may not shirk responsibility indirectly for any violence that may break out on the part of the nation and in the course of the campaign. But such responsibility will always be there and can be only a degree more than the responsibility

I share with the British rulers in their sins against the nation in so far as I give my co-operation however reluctantly and ever so slightly. For instance I give my co-operation by paying taxes direct or indirect. The very salt I eat compels my voluntary co-operation. Moreover it has dawned on me never so plainly as now that if my non-violence has suffered the greatest incarnation of violence which the British imperialistic rule is, it must suffer the crude and ineffective violence of the impatient patriots who know not that by their ineffectiveness they are but helping that imperialistic rule and enabling it to consolidate the very thing they seek to destroy. I see now as clearly as daylight that my non-violence working as it has done against the British misrule has shaken it somewhat. Even so will it shake the counter-violence of the patriot if taking courage in both my hands I set my non-violence actively in motion, i.e., civil disobedience. I reduce the risk of the outbreak of counter-violence to a minimum by taking sole charge of the campaign. After all is said and done, however, I feel the truth of the description given to my proposal by *The Times of India*. It is indeed 'the last throw of a gambler'. I have been a 'gambler' all my life. In my passion for finding the truth and in relentlessly following out my faith in non-violence, I have counted no stake too great. In doing so I have erred, if at all, in the company of the most distinguished scientist of any age and any clime.

Q. But what about your much vaunted faith in Hindu-Muslim unity? Of what value will even independence be without that unity?

A. My faith in that unity is as bright as ever. I do not want independence at the cost even of the weakest minority, let alone the powerful Mussalman and the no less powerful Sikh. The Lahore Congress resolution on unity[1] finally sums up all its previous effort in that behalf. The Congress rules out all solution proposed on a communal basis. But if it is ever compelled to consider such a solution it will consider only that which will give (not merely justice) but satisfaction to all the parties concerned. To be true to its word therefore, the Congress cannot accept any scheme of independence that does not give satisfaction, so far as communal rights are concerned, to the parties concerned. The compaign that is about to be launched is calculated to generate power for the whole nation to be independent. But it will not be in fact till all the parties have combined. To postpone civil disobedience which has nothing to do with communalism till the

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 359.

latter is set at rest will be to move in a vicious circle and defeat the very end that all must have in view. What I am hoping is that the Congress being free from the communal incubus will tend it, if it remains true to the nation as a whole, to become the strongest centre party jealously guarding the rights of the weakest members. Such a Congress will have only servants of the nation, not office-seekers. Till independence is achieved or till unity is reached it will have nothing to do with any office or favours from the Government of the day in competition with the minorities. Happily the Congress has now nothing to do with the legislatures which have perhaps more than anything else increased communal bitterness. It is no doubt unfortunate that at the present moment the Congress contains largely only the Hindu element. But if the Congresss Hindus cease to think communally and we take no advantage that cannot be shared to the full with all the other communities, it will presently disarm all suspicion and will attract to itself the noblest among Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all those who are of India. But whether the Congress ever approaches this ideal or not, my course is, as it always has been, perfectly clear. This unity among all is no new love with me. I have treasured it, acted up to it from my youth upward. When I went to London as a mere lad in 1889 I believed in it as passionately as I do now. When I went to South Africa in 1893 I worked it out in every detail of my life. Love so deep seated as it is in me will not be sacrificed even for the realm of the whole world. Indeed this campaign should take the attention of the nation off the communal problem and to rivet it on the things that are common to all Indians, no matter to what religion or sect they may belong.

Q. Then you will raise, if you can, a force ultimately hostile to the British?

A. Never. My love for non-violence is superior to every other thing mundane or supramundane. It is equalled only by my love for Truth which is to me synonymous with non-violence through which and which alone I can see and reach Truth. My scheme of life, if it draws no distinction between different religionists in India, it also draws none between different races. For me "man is a man for a' that"[1]. I embark upon the campaign as much out of my love for the Englishman as for the Indian. By self-suffering I seek to convert him, never to destroy him.

[1] Robert Burns

Q. But may not all this be your hallucination that can never come to pass in this matter of fact world of ours?

A. It may well be that. It is not a charge wholly unfamiliar to me. My hallucinations in the past have served me well. This last is not expected to fail me. If it does, it will but harm me and those who may come or put themselves under its influence. If my hallucination is potent to the authorities, my body is always at their disposal. If owing to my threatened action any Englishman's life is put in greater danger than it is now, the arm of English authority is long enough and strong enough to overtake any outbreak that may occur between Kashmir and Cape Comorin or Karachi and Dibrugarh. Lastly no campaign need take place, if all the politicians and editors instead of addressing themselves to me will address themselves to the authorities and ask them to undo the continuing wrongs some of which I have inadequately described in these pages.

Young India, 20-2-1930

458. 'BUCCANEERING COMMISSION'[1]

As the public have a short memory, I reproduce below the two Congress resolutions which have been defended by Professor Coomarappa and which have been so misrepresented here and abroad:

Gaya Congress Resolution (1922)

> Whereas by reason of unjustifiable military expenditure and other extravagance, the Government has brought the national indebtedness to a limit beyond recovery; and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the suffrage of a majority or any substantial fraction of the voters and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people:
>
> And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people, and it has therefore become necessary to stop the career of irresponsibility:

[1] In this article to which Gandhiji appended his comments, J. C. Coomarappa had explained how the people of India had been burdened with debts by the British Government to the tune of over £200 million — all by unjust transactions — and had invited the readers' attention to the resolution on the subject passed at the Gaya and Lahore Congresses.

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of the said institutions in future to raise loans or to incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that on the attainment of swarajya the people of India, though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government, will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

LAHORE CONGRESS RESOLUTION[1] (1929)

The Gaya resolution is surely innocuous and even charitable at the expense of posterity, in that it makes the people liable for the then existing debts whether 'rightly or wrongly incurred'. The Lahore resolution undoes the mistake, and adopts the honourable and usual method of submitting all accounts, past, present and future when the time comes, to the scrutiny of an impartial tribunal. What happens when an institution or a business passes from one steward to another? Does not the outgoing steward render accounts to the incoming one? Are not those accounts subject to scrutiny? The future national Government will betray its trust at the very threshold of its career, if it fails to perform the obvious duty of submitting to the strictest scrutiny all the obligations it may take over. If Great Britain and India are then solvent, no investor need fear the loss of a penny or a pice. For whatever India takes over, she will have to pay. Whatever cannot be charged justly against her has to be taken over as a matter of course by Great Britain. It is only the present helpless voiceless India that is made to pay against her will what cannot be justly charged against her. When the time comes for reckoning, it will be the sacred duty owing to India's millions to repudiate every transaction proved to be unjust. But that would mean merely an inevitable and just transference about which the investor, the scripholder and the like need not be concerned.

Young India, 20-2-1930

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* p. 358.

459. *NOTES*

'No Surrender'

Here are the choicest bits from Northcliffe House just received:

> . . . *Politicians must for ever drop their gibberish about Dominion Home Rule for the Eastern Empire.* Those of them who persist in toying with so fatal a policy must be remorselessly driven from public life.
>
> *The retention of India is more important to the welfare of Great Britain than tariffs or any other political question.* That country may fairly be described as the very keystone of the Empire. Its trade is vital to our people. The total loss of the Indian market would mean bankruptcy for Lancashire and misery for her industrial workers. In the last year for which figures are available British exports to India were £ 83,900,000 in value (one-ninth of our total exports), and there is no other country or territory, British or foreign, which takes anything like that amount of British goods. This trade it is the deliberate purpose of the revolutionaries to destroy if they get the chance.
>
> British investments in India reach the enormous figure of £ 1,000,000,000, according to evidence given before the Simon Commission. Again, it is the declared intention of the revolutionaries to repudiate the Indian debt and to confiscate the plantations and factories which British capital has created on Indian soil. *From the loss of such a sum Great Britain could never recover.*
>
> *The policy of surrender in India has got to stop.* . . . There are two courses, and only two. The first is to get out and hand over the country to the Princes, who would pretty quickly settle the Hindu lawyers of the All-India Congress. The second is to stay in India and govern. That second course is the one which this country will take.

The title is the *Daily Mail*'s as also the italics and different types. The writing is as outspoken as it is true notwithstanding Mr. Benn's belittling of it. But 'no surrender' is a game at which either party may play. If the millions of India play 'no surrender' their non-violence will be more than a match for the British 'no surrender' in spite of the combined aid of the military, the naval and the air forces which it can summon. It is the material benefits which England derives from the connection that matter to the British public. It is the extinction of those benefits that matters

most to the Indian masses who can no longer bear the crushing burden. For India considers many of them ill-gotten. Let this double no surrender stagger humanity. British bullying must stop at all cost.

NO CONVERSION PERMISSIBLE

The English Press cuttings contain among many delightful items the news that Miss Slade known in the Ashram as Mirabai has embraced Hinduism.[1] I may say that she has not. I hope that she is a better Christian than when four years ago she came to the Ashram. She is not a girl of tender age. She is past thirty and has travelled all alone in Egypt, Persia and Europe befriending trees and animals. I have had the privilege of having under me Mussalman, Parsi and Christian minors. Never was Hinduism put before them for their acceptance. They were encouraged and induced to respect and read their own scriptures. It is with pleasure that I can recall instances of men and women, boys and girls having been induced to know and love their faiths better than they did before if they were also encouraged to study the other faiths with sympathy and respect. We have in the Ashram today several faiths represented. No proselytizing is practised or permitted. We recognize that all these faiths are true and divinely inspired, and all have suffered through the necessarily imperfect handling of imperfect men. Miss Slade bears not a Hindu name but an Indian name. And this was done at her instance and for convenience. We have more such instances. Richard Gregg who is not suspected of having given up Christianity is to us Govindji. An old Christian sister, Miss Ada West now in Louth, became Devibehn to us in Phœnix.

Young India, 20-2-1930

460. VARNADHARMA AND DUTY OF LABOUR–III

Q. It is of course good to find the virtues of all the four varnas in any one individual but can the majority of human beings acquire them all and is it proper to place this ideal before society?

A. Many virtues and functions are common to all varnas and ought to be so; but it is neither necessary nor possible for everyone to have all the virtues of all the varnas.

[1] This was observed in the introductory remarks to the "Interview to *The Daily Express*," 22-1-1930.

Q. If Tolstoy's duty of labour is universally accepted will it not be difficult for poets like Kabir and Rabindra to live in this world? And would this not be a misfortune for the world?

A. Acceptance of the duty of labour is not a denial of Kabir and Rabindranath; on the other hand it is capable of making the poetry of both more forceful and radiant. Manual labour does not weaken the mental faculty; on the contrary it nourishes it. The difference merely is that the votary of manual labour will never earn a living by only writing poetry nor will he give up manual labour altogether. Kabir was of course an advocate of manual labour. He never earned a penny by composing religious songs and hymns. He earned his living as a weaver of cloth. Propagation of religion and morality had become his nature or hobby. Rabindranath is a great poet of this age because he does not earn his living by writing poetry. Whatever he earns by writing poetry is all donated to his institution. He lives by the income from his estates. I do not know how far he believes in the duty of labour; this I do know that he certainly does not despise it. We learn from history that ancient poets or sages had accepted the duty of labour even if it might have been implicitly. As a result their benedictions are with us even today.

Q. According to the doctrine of the duty of labour, Jesus, Buddha and Tolstoy himself are blameworthy. Tolstoy's wife herself has said that beyond writing books he could do nothing else. He might have learnt carpentry and some other manual work only to become a laughing-stock; but this does not satisfy Tolstoy's concept of the duty of labour. Is it not therefore necessary to examine it very carefully?

A. This view takes no note of history. Jesus was a carpenter. He never used his intellect to earn his livelihood. We do not know how much manual work Buddha did before he attained wisdom. Yes, we know this much, that he did not propagate religion for securing his livelihood. He lived on charity. That could not militate against the duty of labour. A roving ascetic has to do a lot of manual work. Now, to come to Tostoy, what his wife has said is true but it is not the whole truth. After the change in his outlook Tostoy never took for himself the income from his books. Although he had property worth millions, he lived like a guest in his own house. After the attainment of wisdom, he worked eight hours a day and earned his wages. Sometimes he worked in the field and sometimes he made shoes at home. Although he did not earn much by doing such work, still he earned enough to feed himself. Tolstoy strove hard to prac-

tise what he preached. This was characteristic of him. The sum and substance of all this discussion is that the duty which the ancients observed themselves and which the majority in the world discharges even today has been presented to the world in an explicit manner by him. In fact this doctrine was not Tolstoy's original idea; it was thought of by a great Russian writer by name Bondoref. Tolstoy endorsed it and proclaimed it to the world.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 20-2-1930

461. LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI

[*February 20, 1930*][1]

BHAISHRI NAUTAMLAL,

I have your letter. I am glad that your worry is over. Observe as much simplicity as possible.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI
JETPUR, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2580

462. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 22, 1930

BHAI TULSI MAHER,

I received your letter.

You are carrying on your work quite well and I hope it will continue so. Do not be perturbed by the news of the struggle here. Your duty lies in sticking to your post.

These days smallpox is rampant here. We are being tested in this way too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6537

[1] From the postmark

463. *SOME RULES OF SATYAGRAHA*[1]

Satyagraha literally means insistence on truth. This insistence arms the votary with matchless power. This power or force is connoted by the word satyagraha. Satyagraha, to be genuine, may be offered against parents, against one's wife or one's children, against rulers, against fellow-citizens, even against the whole world.

Such a universal force necessarily makes no distinction between kinsmen and strangers, young and old, man and woman, friend and foe. The force to be so applied can never be physical. There is in it no room for violence. The only force of universal application can, therefore, be that of ahimsa or love. In other words it is soul force.

Love does not burn others, it burns itself. Therefore, a satyagrahi, i.e., a civil resister will joyfully suffer even unto death.

It follows, therefore, that a civil resister, whilst he will strain every nerve to compass the end of the existing rule, will do no intentional injury in thought, word or deed to the person of a single Englishman. This necessarily brief explanation of satyagraha will perhaps enable the reader to understand and appreciate the following rules:

As an Individual

1. A satyagrahi, i.e., a civil resister will harbour no anger.
2. He will suffer the anger of the opponent.
3. In so doing he will put up with assaults from the opponent, never retaliate; but he will not submit, out of fear of punishment or the like, to any order given in anger.
4. When any person in authority seeks to arrest a civil resister, he will voluntarily submit to the arrest, and he will not resist the attachment or removal of his own property, if any, when it is sought to be confiscated by authorities.
5. If a civil resister has any property in his possession as a trustee, he will refuse to surrender it, even though in defending it he might lose his life. He will, however, never retaliate.
6. Non-retaliation excludes swearing and cursing.
7. Therefore a civil resister will never insult his opponent,

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 23-2-1930.

and therefore also not take part in many of the newly coined cries which are contrary to the spirit of ahimsa.

8. A civil resister will not salute the Union Jack, nor will he insult it or officials, English or Indian.

9. In the course of the struggle if anyone insults an official or commits an assault upon him, a civil resister will protect such official or officials from the insult or attack even at the risk of his life.

As a Prisoner

10. As a prisoner, a civil resister will behave courteously towards prison officials, and will observe all such discipline of the prison as is not contrary to self-respect; as for instance, whilst he will salaam officials in the usual manner, he will not perform any humiliating gyrations and refuse to shout 'Victory to Sarkar[1]' or the like. He will take cleanly cooked and cleanly served food, which is not contrary to his religion, and will refuse to take food insultingly served or served in unclean vessels.

11. A civil resister will make no distinction between an ordinary prisoner and himself, will in no way regard himself as superior to the rest, nor will he ask for any conveniences that may not be necessary for keeping his body in good health and condition. He is entitled to ask for such conveniences as may be required for his physical or spiritual well-being.

12. A civil resister may not fast for want of conveniences whose deprivation does not involve any injury to one's self-respect.

As a Unit

13. A civil resister will joyfully obey all the orders issued by the leader of the corps, whether they please him or not.

14. He will carry out orders in the first instance even though they appear to him insulting, inimical or foolish, and then appeal to higher authority. He is free before joining to determine the fitness of the corps to satisfy him, but after he has joined it, it becomes a duty to submit to its discipline irksome or otherwise. If the sum total of the energy of the corps appears to a member to be improper or immoral, he has a right to sever his connection, but being within it, he has no right to commit a breach of its discipline.

15. No civil resister is to expect maintenance for his dependents. It would be an accident if any such provision is made. A civil resister entrusts his dependents to the care of God. Even in ordinary warfare wherein hundreds of thousands give themselves up to it, they are able to make no previous provision. How much more,

[1] Government

then, should such be the case in satyagraha? It is the universal experience that in such times hardly anybody is left to starve.

IN COMMUNAL FIGHTS

16. No civil resister will intentionally become a cause of communal quarrels.

17. In the event of any such outbreak, he will not take sides, but he will assist only that party which is demonstrably in the right. Being a Hindu he will be generous towards Mussalmans and others, and will sacrifice himself in the attempt to save non-Hindus from a Hindu attack. And if the attack is from the other side, he will not participate in any retaliation but will give his life in protecting Hindus.

18. He will, to the best of his ability, avoid every occasion that may give rise to communal quarrels.

19. If there is a procession of satyagrahis they will do nothing that would wound the religious susceptibilities of any community, and they will not take part in any other processions that are likely to wound such susceptibilities.

Young India, 27-2-1930

464. TO CONTRIBUTORS AND CORRESPONDENTS

An article with the caption "Plight of Women"[1] was published on p. 125 of *Navajivan*, dated December 15, 1929. I was taken in by the correspondent having given names, addresses and other details. I took the writer to be entirely truthful. Now, from the facts supplied to me in this matter, I find that the letter was full of exaggeration and was libellous. The truth has been so twisted in the presentation that the chief actor in the incident comes out as cruelty incarnate. The information now reaching me puts the whole incident in a different light. However, I do not desire to go into the details of the case. My aim in writing this is to request correspondents to give facts only. Exaggeration does not help improvement in any way or anywhere. I advise the correspondent who wrote the original letter to apologize to the person whom he has slandered for the exaggeration he has made. If he still desires to adhere to his statement, he should write to me permitting me to send his letter to the persons concerned.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-2-1930

[1] *Vide* p. 279.

465. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

SABARMATI,
February 23, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I am quite clear that those who believe in and would fight for immediate independence cannot take part in conferences such as you mention.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9614

466. *LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER*

SABARMATI,
February 23, 1930

MY DEAR MURIEL,

Your letter is lying in front of me demanding an answer. On the eve of what promises to be a life and death struggle I think of all my English friends known and unknown. You are not the least among them.

My love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6561

467. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

February 24, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter. I had not read the speech. I hardly get time to read.

You will see the forthcoming issue. It will contain much. The substance has already appeared in Gujarati *Navajivan*. Perhaps we shall get a few moments to discuss things more fully when we

meet on 1st March. My letter to the Viceroy[1] will also clarify the issue.

I am glad there is nothing serious with Kamala. But why should she not now go to a hospital and have the necessary treatment?

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

468. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 25, 1930

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. I am including your name in the list but how can I ask you to give up the responsibility which you have undertaken there and call you here?

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
KHADI KARYALAYA
CHALALA (KATHIAWAR)

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: MMU/III/75

469. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

February 26, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I was eagerly awaiting your letter. Come on the 1st. Jamnabehn, Perinbehn, Khurshedbehn, Jawaharlal, etc., will also have arrived on that day.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MITHUBEHN PETIT
SWARAJ ASHRAM
SURAT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2685

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIII, pp. 2-8.

470. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

February 26, 1930

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I got your letter. May you live long and render much service. I would have been happy if you could have come. Janakibehn will come in a day or two.

I got Chandan's letter too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7463

471. WHEN I AM ARRESTED

It must be taken for granted that, when civil disobedience is started, my arrest is a certainty. It is, therefore, necessary to consider what should be done when the event takes place.

On the eve of my arrest in 1922[1] I had warned co-workers against any demonstration of any kind save that of mute, complete non-violence, and had insisted that constructive work which alone could organize the country for civil disobedience should be prosecuted with the utmost zeal. The first part of the instructions was, thanks be to God, literally and completely carried out —so completely that it has enabled an English noble contemptuously to say, 'Not a dog barked.' For me when I learnt in the jail that the country had remained absolutely non-violent, it was a demonstration that the preaching of non-violence had had its effect and that the Bardoli decision[2] was the wisest thing to do. It would be foolish to speculate what might have happened if 'dogs' had barked and violence had been let loose on my arrest. One thing, however, I can say, that in that event there would have been no independence resolution at Lahore, and no Gandhi with his confidence in the power of non-violence left to contemplate taking the boldest risks imaginable.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 68 & 549.

[2] Of February 1922 to suspend the civil disobedience movement; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 377-81.

Let us, however, think of the immediate future. This time on my arrest there is to be no mute, passive non-violence, but non-violence of the activest type should be set in motion, so that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort to submit any longer to the existing slavery. It would be, therefore, the duty of everyone to take up such civil disobedience or civil resistance as may be advised and conducted by my successor, or as might be taken up by the Congress. I must confess, that at the present moment, I have no all-India successor in view. But I have sufficient faith in the co-workers and in the mission itself to know that circumstances will give the successor. This peremptory condition must be patent to all that he must be an out and out believer in the efficacy of non-violence for the purpose intended. For without that living faith in it he will not be able at the crucial moment to discover a non-violent method.

It must be parenthetically understood that what is being said here in no way fetters the discretion and full authority of the Congress. The Congress will adopt only such things said here that may commend themselves to Congressmen in general. If the nature of these instructions is to be properly understood, the organic value of the charter of full liberty given to me by the Working Commitee should be adequately appreciated. Non-violence, if it does not submit to any restrictions upon its liberty, subjects no one and no institution to any restriction whatsoever, save what may be self-imposed or voluntarily adopted. So long as the vast body of Congressmen continue to believe in non-violence as the only policy in the existing circumstances and have confidence not only in the *bona fides* of my successor and those who claim to believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent indicated but also in the ability of the successor wisely to guide the movement, the Congress will give him and them its blessings and even give effect to these instructions and his.

So far as I am concerned, my intention is to start the movement only through the inmates of the Ashram and those who have submitted to its discipline and assimilated the spirit of its methods. Those, therefore, who will offer battle at the very commencement will be unknown to fame. Hitherto the Ashram has been deliberately kept in reserve in order that by a fairly long course of discipline it might acquire stability. I feel that if the Satyagraha Ashram is to deserve the great confidence that has been reposed in it and the affection lavished upon it by friends, the time has arrived for

it to demonstrate the qualities implied in the word satyagraha. I feel that our self-imposed restraints have become subtle indulgences, and the prestige acquired has provided us with privileges and conveniences of which we may be utterly unworthy. These have been thankfully accepted in the hope that some day we would be able to give a good account of ourselves in terms of satyagraha. And if at the end of nearly 15 years of its existence, the Ashram cannot give such a demonstration, it and I should disappear, and it would be well for the nation, the Ashram and me.

When the beginning is well and truly made I expect the response from all over the country. It will be the duty then of everyone who wants to make the movement a success to keep it non-violent and under discipline. Everyone will be expected to stand at his post except when called by his chief. If there is spontaneous mass response, as I hope there will be, and if previous experience is any guide, it will largely be self-regulated. But everyone who accepts non-violence whether as an article of faith or policy would assist the mass movement. Mass movements have, all over the world, thrown up unexpected leaders. This should be no exception to the rule. Whilst, therefore, every effort imaginable and possible should be made to restrain the forces of violence, civil disobedience once begun this time cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive. A votary of satyagraha should find himself in one of the following states:

1. In prison or in an analogous state; or
2. Engaged in civil disobedience; or
3. Under orders at the spinning-wheel, or at some constructive work advancing swaraj.

Young India, 27-2-1930

472. SALT AND CANCER

I gladly publish this letter[1]. I have glanced at the literature. As an ardent food reformer I have lived without any salt for over six years. Even now I take very little salt internally. But even a food reformer like me has many other uses of salt. To cure a cold, a hot salt water nasal douche is effective. As a tooth powder,

[1] From Frederick T. Marwood, not reproduced here. The correspondent had enclosed literature proving causal connection between salt and cancer and had asserted that the salt tax was a blessing in disguise.

finely powdered salt is precious. The way to teach people moderation in salt is not to tax that otherwise most valuable commodity. And above all what is true of well-fed or overfed people, who can provide for themselves every variety of condiment and salt-charged foods that the earth can produce or the ingenuity of man can manufacture, may not be true of millions who are semi-starved and live on rice or stale unleavened cakes. Who can say with certainty that these do not need much more salt than they get? At any rate there are doctors who do say that India's millions need more salt than they eat, and that her cattle too need much more than the poor farmers can afford to give them.

Young India, 27-2-1930

473. SALT TAX

A paragraph appeared in the Press that I would advise non-payment of the salt tax to begin with. The manufacturer of the canard did not know, perhaps, that the salt tax was so ingeniously devised that it would not yield to easy non-payment. Nevertheless there was this truth in it, that I was contemplating some method of attacking this nefarious monopoly. The garbled report has however resulted in most valuable information having been supplied to me by known and unknown writers. Among the publications thus received is the monograph issued by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce on salt. It is a valuable publication giving an authentic history of the process of killing by wicked methods salt manufacture in Bengal and dumping down Liverpool salt on a soil which could produce good salt for only a little labour. This history of the evolution of the salt tax furnishes by itself complete condemnation of the British Government.

Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life. It is the only condiment of the poor. Cattle cannot live without salt. Salt is a necessary article in many manufactures. It is also a rich manure.

There is no article like salt outside water by taxing which the State can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and the utterly helpless. The tax constitutes therefore the most inhuman poll tax that ingenuity of man can devise. The wholesale price per maund of 82 lbs. is according to Government publications as low as 10 pies, and the tax, say, twenty annas, i.e., 240 pies. This means 2,400 per cent on sale price! What this means to the poor can hardly be imagined by us. Salt

production like cotton growing has been centralized for the sake of sustaining the inhuman monopoly. The necessary consequence of the wilful destruction of the spinning-wheel was destruction of cottage cultivation of cotton. The necessary consequence of salt monopoly was the destruction, i.e., closing down of salt works in thousands of places where the poor people manufactured their own salt. A correspondent writes to me from Konkan, saying that if the people had freedom, they could pick up salt from the deposits made by the receding tides on the bountiful coast. But he sorrowfully adds that officers turn the salt over into the sea as fast as nature deposits it. He adds however, that those who can successfully evade the salt police do help themselves to this sea salt. Gujarat workers report the existence of many places where, but for the prohibition, people can get their salt as easily as they can dig out earth for many household purposes. Bengal free can today manufacture all the salt she can ever need. And yet she is forced to import all the salt she eats.

Here is what a retired salt officer writes without disclosing his name:

> Under the law the manufacture of salt includes every process by which salt is separated from *brine* or earth or any other liquid or solid substance and also every process for the purification or refinement of salt.
>
> Contraband salt means salt or salt earth which has not paid duty.
>
> 1. Manufacture, removal, or transport of salt without licence;
>
> 2. The excavation, collection, or removal of natural salt or salt earth;
>
> 3. And possession or sale of contraband salt are punishable with a fine up to Rs. 500 or imprisonment up to six months or both.
>
> The whole western littoral of the Bombay Presidency from Cambay to Ratnagiri; the whole coast of Kathiawar and the southern coast of Sind is a huge natural salt-work, and natural salt and salt earth from which salt can be easily prepared is in every creek.
>
> If a band of volunteers begin the work all along the coast, it would be impossible for the whole strength of the police and customs staff to prevent them from collecting natural salt and salt earth, turning them into salt in the interior and retaining it. The people of the presidency or at least the men and women of the older generation firmly believe, that locally manufactured sea salt is healthier than Kharaghoda salt, and they would love to have it, while everyone would like to have cheap salt. The poor people on the coast will join in the collection of salt spontaneously in these days of unemployment. Trying to get salt from Government salt-works without paying duty would be stealing or robbery, an

act of First Class Hinsa that would justify even shooting down of the offenders if they persisted in the act.

I have given the letter as it was received. When salt can be manufactured much more easily than it can be taken from salt depots, I am not likely to advise people to help themselves to the article from salt pans or storehouses. But I do not share the salt officer's characterization of such helping as first-class *himsa*. Both the helping from pans and manufacturing contraband salt are statutory crimes heavily punishable. Why is the manufacturing without licence a virtue and taking salt from a manufacturing pan a vice? If the impost is wrong, it is wrong whether in connection with manufactured salt or the crude article. If a robber steals my grain and cooks some of it, I am entitled to both the raw and the cooked grain. I may draw a distinction for the sake of avoiding inconvenience between manufactured and crude salt, and adopt the easier method of manufacturing salt. But that does not alter the legal position in the slightest degree. When therefore the time comes, civil resisters will have an ample opportunity of their ability to conduct their campaign regarding the tax in a most effective manner. The illegality is in a Government that steals the people's salt and makes them pay heavily for the stolen article. The people, when they become conscious of their power, will have every right to take possession of what belongs to them.

Young India, 27-2-1930

474. NOTES

The National Flag

The more the National Flag is gaining in importance, the nicer become the questions that are being raised about its colours, size, the charkha symbol, etc. It should be remembered that the National Flag has become national only by convention and not by any Congress resolution. With the growing consciousness of oneness, Congressmen have begun to dislike the communal meaning that as inventor of the design I gave to the colours on the Flag.[1] A correspondent some days ago sent me a cutting describing a new meaning a lady gave to the colours. So far as I recall her speech, red was suggestive of bravery, green of calmness and white of purity. I have no hesitation in accepting this mean-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 561-2; also Vol. XL, pp. 55-6 & 94-5.

ing in the place of mine. When we have achieved heart unity, there is no doubt that we shall be ashamed of recalling things which had no use but to placate warring elements in the nation. When we are really united, we shall never need to remember our differences, we shall want to forget them as soon as we can. But we shall always need to cultivate and treasure the virtues of bravery, calmness and purity. This new meaning therefore should set at rest all differences about the colours. As for the spinning-wheel, I shall be sorry to find anybody objecting to the wheel which means energy, which binds the poor and the rich, and which ever reminds Congressmen that in anything that they may do, they dare not forget the masses.

SMOKING NUISANCE

A correspondent writes:[1]

In this case at any rate the authorities are not to blame. Unless the passengers affected complain the railway authorities can take no action. The passengers can do much to abate the nuisance which is very real. The smoker all the world over is perhaps the most inconsiderate of all the slaves of habit. He takes it for granted that everybody else smokes or ought to. He will part with many things before he will part with his pipe. He will spit anywhere and smoke in your very face and expect you to enjoy the smoky curl that mounts up in front of you. And it would be the height of insolence if you were to protest against the enjoyment thus thrust on you. Our proverbial docility enables the Indian smoker to outdo his foreign companions in indifference. And so the smoker in India appears to have acquired a prescriptive right to make of himself a nuisance. Who can deny that he is in a majority? For of the travelling public almost every other man one meets with is smoking tobacco in one form or other. The only remedy is for volunteers to come into being, who will courteously ask the offending smokers to desist from smoking, and then if need be, to report to the authorities. Of course the best course is as elsewhere to set apart smoking compartments or perhaps to reserve compartments for non-smokers.

Young India, 27-2-1930

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had questioned why the railway authorities and passengers did not enforce the legal provision to penalize passengers smoking in trains,

475. HISTORY OF SALT MANUFACTURE

The following[1] is abridged from the publication *Moral and Material Progress 1910-11.* Many curses have been handed down to us from time immemorial as salt monopoly is claimed by the publication to have done. Only the whole people were never in the grip of the salt tax curse in the pre-British days. It was reserved for the British Government to reduce the curse to a perfect formula covering every man, woman, child and beast.

Young India, 27-2-1930

476. RAISING FALSE HOPES

With the deeper penetration among the masses, there is danger of Congressmen making thoughtless promises and raising false hopes which may never be realized. As an illustration I have before me a Hindi circular issued by a Youth League which among twenty-five promises contains these:

> Cow-slaughter will stop altogether.
>
> Milk, ghee and curds being cheap, all will put on flesh and be strong. Child mortality will decrease.
>
> Grain will not be exported to foreign parts.
>
> Knavery will cease and all will be honest.
>
> Boys and girls will receive free instruction up to the age of 14.
>
> Life will be clean and healthy.
>
> Everyone will have arms for self-defence.
>
> There will be no child widows.
>
> Postage and railage will be reduced.

The promises are admirable, but extravagant and hardly likely to be fulfilled by the mere fact of India gaining independence. Many of the reforms hoped for will require tremendous social effort. Foreign domination is undoubtedly responsible for many evils, but we need to remember that many pre-existing evils were also a potent cause of that domination. Therefore the mere throwing off of the foreign yoke, whilst it is as essential as life breath, will never be the cure-all.

[1] Not reproduced here

Take the cow-slaughter. This will not stop for the mere independence. It will come by the good grace of our Mussalman countrymen and still more by hard thinking and harder acting. It is much more an economic than a religious problem. If we knew and acted according to the science of cow keeping, cow breeding and some other things mentioned in these pages, the cow can be saved today. To mention her in an enumeration of the future hopes is to retard the process of her preservation.

I will run through the other items.

Cheap milk, ghee, curds will come from applied knowledge, never from independence.

Child mortality will not decrease except by banishing poverty and instructing the adult population in the art of rearing children.

Grain, if we produce more than we need, will certainly be exported as well for our benefit as that of mankind in general.

Knavery will cease only if we achieve our freedom by non-violent and truthful means, *not otherwise*.

I doubt if we shall ever be able to give free instruction to boys and girls up to anything like 14. But we might be able to take their labour as fees. This will happen if the nation is weaned from false notions of education.

Life will be as dirty as it is today unless we learn corporate sanitation.

I am certain that everyone will not have arms for self-defence, but there will be much freer issue than hitherto. Issue of arms will still be regulated but from wholly different motives from now.

There will be child widows in abundance, unless by the time we achieve freedom, blind orthodoxy and lust have given place to reasoned faith and self-restraint.

I am not sure that postage can be further reduced. Railage may be.

But I may be wrong and the Youth League in question may be right in its estimate of the capacity of independence to do things for us. The point is not who is right. The point to be made is that it is rash and imprudent to make hasty promises. It is more than enough to be able to say without fear of contradiction, that INDEPENDENCE MEANS THE REMOVAL OF THE GREATEST OBSTACLE IN THE PATH OF OUR ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL PROGRESS, THAT WITHOUT THE REMOVAL OF THAT OBSTACLE THERE IS NO PROGRESS, AND THAT DELAY MEANS NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY, SUICIDE.

Young India, 27-2-1930

477. KHADDAR FRANCHISE

The clause in the Congress constitution requiring Congressmen to wear hand-spun and hand-woven garments on pain of being debarred from voting at meetings continues to cause trouble. A correspondent writes:

> These Congress members, though they are clad top to toe in foreign and Indian mill-made garments, do not hesitate to say when questioned that to the best of their ability and knowledge they are dressed in khaddar garments. In the face of Pandit Motilalji's decision at Calcutta the chairmen at Congress Committee meetings feel obliged to accept such statements though they are manifestly false. Honest men who when challenged admit that they are not dressed in khaddar are debarred. Can you not show a way out, or cannot the Working Committee provide a remedy?

The remedy that comes to me on the spur of the moment is that the chairmen at such meetings should firmly rule out of order those who are manifestly clad in any but khaddar garments. Pandit Motilalji's decision was given, I imagine, to obviate a difficulty. It establishes no precedent, and he will himself refuse to be bound by a decision which was neither serious nor considered. On the eve of the great struggle that we are about to enter upon, it behoves all Congressmen to carry out the Congress constitution honestly. Those who do not like the khaddar clause are free to agitate for its repeal but they are in honour bound to give effect to it while it forms part of the constitution.

Another correspondent asks questions which present no difficulty. The following answers obviate the necessity of copying the questions:

1. No one at the time of becoming a four anna member is obliged to wear khaddar. The idea behind the wording of the clause was first to enlist everyone who would subscribe to the 1st article and pay 4 annas or the required quantity of self-spun yarn and then to induce him to wear khaddar.

2. Those who are entitled to vote at meetings must be habitual wearers of khaddar. It is not enough therefore to wear khaddar only for the purpose of attending Congress functions. But the practice has grown up of not making any further inquiry when a person attending any meeting is found to be wearing khaddar.

3. Those who are partly dressed in khaddar cannot be considered khaddar clad.

4. Mill-made cloth is *not* khaddar.

Young India, 27-2-1930

478. THAT NOXIOUS PALM[1]

This reminds me of what is now going on in Bengal. The water hyacinth beautiful to look at is a deadly plant floating on the great Bengal rivers. The local Government are trying to destroy it as otherwise it bids fair to destroy the crops that are watered by the rivers. I have known of stringent legislation requiring people on pain of being imprisoned to destroy noxious plants. The central point of the world crusade against opium is to destroy and prevent the cultivation of the poppy. It was not therefore surprising to find condemnation of this 'wild date palm' as it has been called in the extracts unearthed by Mahadev. It has no value apart from the fiery liquid it provides. The sooner the other owners destroy it to make room for life-giving crops, the better it will be for them and society.

Young India, 27-2-1930

479. BORDERLAND OF INSOLVENCY

The address of Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla as President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, delivered recently at Delhi in the presence of the Viceroy, has justly attracted wide attention. I take the following seasonable paragraphs[2] from it on our foreign liabilities.

Sjt. Birla as a financier can only deal with the arithmetic of the transactions and find how those liabilities just or unjust may be met. Reformers claim to go behind these liabilities and to know how and why they were created. We need not be squeamish about repudiation of liabilities only so called and imposed upon us involuntarily and often without our knowledge. Constitution making is a good pastime under healthy conditions. But it is

[1] Mahadev Desai's article under this title giving extracts from settlement reports and other documents, is not reproduced here. It showed that toddy trees were injurious to cultivation and fit only to be destroyed.

[2] Not reproduced here. They analysed the extent and impact of British investments, home charges and charges for such services as transport, insurance, etc,

deceptive and ruinous when the patient for whom a new constitution is prescribed is about to die. An impartial and unfettered examination of our financial position should therefore be a condition precedent to any scheme of constitution making.

Young India, 27-2-1930

480. VARNADHARMA AND DUTY OF LABOUR–IV

Q. Tolstoy has written — "Money and slavery are one and the same thing. Their object is the same and their outcome is also alike. . . . Money is a new and frightful image of slavery and like the ancient personal bondage, it degrades and depraves the slave as well as the master. That is not all. It is worse; because it destroys the human affection which subsisted between master and slave in the ancient form of personal slavery."

Do you support this view? Can money never become a harmless medium of exchange? If so, how? And if not, why not?

A. I am not aware that Tolstoy wrote what the questioner quotes as the former's statement. Slavery and money do not belong to the same class and therefore they cannot be compared. Slavery is a status and always abhorrent. Money is only a medium for one's dealings with the world. However powerful a medium it may be, it is just as likely to be beneficial as to be harmful. This same can be said of many other material things. Under every circumstance and in some form or other, the need for money will surely exist. Slavery never was and never could be necessary. We must understand the meaning of money here. When I barter grain for shoes, then, as the grain is the medium of exchange for shoes, it becomes money. But because barter by grain becomes difficult for a large number of people, a bit of metal or paper is used to represent it. This metal or paper is money. There can be no objection to this. But when a person hoards such paper, metal or grain beyond his needs, it leads to evil. It is therefore clear that money by itself is not harmful, but greed for it is harmful. As opposed to this, slavery is a sign of greed. It is wrong and greedy to make a man a slave, but possession of money becomes wrong only when it is held in excess.

However, the man who believes in varanadharma is contented and therefore will not be greedy of wealth. And the man who believes in the duty of labour will never make another a slave.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 27-2-1930

481. LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL BHAGWANJI

ASHRAM SABARMATI,
February 27, 1930

BHAISHRI NAUTAMLAL,

I got your letter. I make the following suggestion. The bride should be dressed in as simple garments as possible. The ornaments, too, should be as few as possible. Whatever you wish to give to her, give it in the form of a *hundi*[1]. Do the same if you also wish to give a dowry to the bridegroom. Apart from that, give him a very simple dress of khadi. There should be no dinner party at all. There will be some guests on the day of the wedding and it will of course be necessary to feed them. The menu for them should include as few delicacies as possible. The noisy singing by women should be altogether forbidden. There should be no band. The wedding should be made a purely religious ceremony. The guests should not be pressed to stay on after the wedding is over. The custom of giving presents to members of the caste should not be observed. If you wish to spend something on the occasion of the marriage, spend it on some good cause, and, if possible, on a cause which will benefit all people. It would be better if you spend nothing specially for the benefit of the caste. Sub-divisions of the caste deserve no help. I have dictated these suggestions in some haste; you may carry out as many of them as you can.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2584

482. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 28, 1930

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. I have reproduced your speech at length.[1] Whatever was done is all to the good. I have practised my 'gift' well by this time. I now see that they have no answer to it. They merely exploit our ignorance and cowardice.

The sooner the Assembly dissovles the better. I have little hope of remaining out of jail by the end of March.

I have a query. Keshu and his mother were there, so were Radhabehn and Devdas. Tell me what you think of them? How did Keshu behave during his illness?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6182. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

ADDENDA

483. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI[1]

February 2, 1930

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

Will you please accompany Motilalji?[2] It will serve a double purpose. You will treat him and help the treatment of the greater patient — our country. Please do not say 'no'.[3]

Tell Motilalji I shall reply to the conundrum of 11 points[4] when we meet. I have a complete answer.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Ansari Papers. Courtesy: Jamia Millia Library

484. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI[5]

SABARMATI,
February 16, 1930

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

It is now 3.30 a.m. I have been struggling to find time to give you a few lines. Your letter I appreciate. It was first seen by Motilalji and Jawaharlal and then read to the Working Committee. There were various comments. No one, however, thought that there was anything in it to warrant a departure from the Lahore programme. I agree that the Hindu-Muslim problem is the problem of problems. But I feel that it has to be approached in a different manner from the one we have hitherto

[1] This should be read after "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", p. 445.

[2] He was going to Ahmedabad to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

[3] In his reply dated February 10, 1930, Dr. Ansari expressed his inability to go to Ahmedabad "owing to an unforeseen professional responsibility".

[4] *Vide* pp. 432-5 & 450-3.

[5] This should be read after "Speech at Prayer Meeting, Sabarmati Ashram", pp. 477-8. For the addressee's letter dated February 13, 1930 to which this was a reply, *vide* Appendix IV.

adopted — not [as] at present by adjustment of the political power but by one or the other acting on the square under all circumstances. Give and take is possible only when there is some trust between the respective communities and their representatives. If the Congress can command such trust the matter can proceed further, not before. The Congress can do so only by becoming fearless and strictly just. But meanwhile the third party — the evil British power — has got to be sterilized. There will be no charter of independence before the Hindus and the Muslims have met but there can be virtual independence before the charter is received. Hence must civil disobedience be forged from day to day by those who believe that there is no escape from non-violence and that violence will *never* bring freedom to India.

I do not know if I have made myself clear. Anyway my own personal line is cast. I fancy that I see my way clear now. There will be no turning back. I can live if God wills *and* if He finds work for me. I have no interest in living if there is no work for me in the direction for which He appears to me to have called me. If all this be hallucination I must perish in the flames of my own lighting. I want you then to cheer up. It does not matter at all if we do not see eye to eye. It is well with us if our hearts are pure, as I know they are.

Yours ever,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]
I had a heart to heart chat with Shuaib. He has promised to meet you. I would love to see as he does. You may share this with him or any friend you like.

M.K.G.

Ansari Papers. Courtesy: Jamia Millia Library

mit to Parliament. The procedure by Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from the Indian Legislature and other bodies, which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon's letter to myself of 6th February 1928, would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, in the opinion of the Commission, obviously have to be preceded by some such Conference as they have suggested.

With these views I understand that His Majesty's Government are in complete accord. For, while they will greatly desire, when the time comes, to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions the most favourable to its successful treatment, they are, with the Commission, deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States. Indeed, an adjustment of these interests in their view is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy, whatever may be the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt.

The goal of British policy was stated in the declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. As I recently pointed out my own Instrument of Instruction from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among His Dominions. Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fullness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

In the full realization of this policy, it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place, and even if we cannot at present exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those, whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of all India, have in view.

His Majesty's Government consider that both these objects, namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the problem, and

secondly, of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of Greater India is not overlooked, can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure such as the Commission has outlined. When, therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports and these have been published, and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them, separately or together as circumstances may demand, for purpose of conference and discussion in regard both to the British-Indian and the all-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India, and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain. I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health, and is the method by which we may best hope to handle these high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

31st October, 1929

IRWIN
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL

India in 1929-30, pp. 466-8

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
52 HEWETT ROAD, ALLAHABAD,
November 4, 1929

MY DEAR BAPUJI,

I have thought well for two days. I can take, I think, a calmer view of the situation than I could two days ago but the fever in my brain has not left me.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 101 and "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 116.

Your appeal to me on the ground of discipline could not be ignored by me. I am myself a believer in discipline. And yet I suppose there can be too much of discipline. Something seems to have snapped inside me evening before last and I am unable to piece it together. As General Secretary of the Congress I owe allegiance to it and must subject myself to its discipline. I have other capacities and other allegiances. I am President of the Indian Trade Union Congress, Secretary of the Independence for India League and am intimately connected with the youth movement. What shall I do with the allegiance I owe to these and other movements I am connected with? I realize now more than I have ever done before that it is not possible to ride a number of horses at the same time. Indeed it is hard enough to ride one. In the conflict of responsibilities and allegiances what is one to do except to rely on one's own instincts and reason?

I have therefore considered the position apart from all outside connections and allegiances and the conviction has grown stronger that I acted wrongly day before yesterday. I shall not enter into the merits of the statement or the policy underlying it. I am afraid we differ fundamentally on that issue and I am not likely to convert you. I shall only say that I believe the statement to have been injurious and a wholly inadequate reply to the Labour Government's declaration. I believe that in our attempts to soothe and retain a few estimable gentlemen we have ruffled and practically turned out of our camp many others who were far more worth having. I believe that we have fallen into a dangerous trap out of which it will be no easy matter to escape. And I think that we have shown to the world that although we talk tall we are only bargaining for some tit bits.

I do not know what the British Government will do now. Probably it will not agree to your conditions. I hope they will not. But I have little doubt that most of the signatories — excluding you of course — will be quite prepared to agree to any modification of the conditions which the British Government might suggest. In any event it is quite clear to me that my position in the Congress will become daily more and more difficult. I accepted the presidentship of the Congress with great misgivings but in the hope that we shall fight on a clear issue next year. That issue is already clouded and the only reason for my acceptance has gone. What am I to do with these "Leaders' Conferences"? I feel an interloper and am ill at ease. I cannot have my say because I am afraid of upsetting the conference. I repress myself and sometimes the repression is too much for me and I break out and even say things which I do not wholly mean.

I feel I must resign from the Secretaryship of the A.I.C.C. I have sent a formal letter to Father, a copy of which I enclose.

The question of the presidentship is a far more difficult one. At this late hour I do not know what I can do. But I am convinced that I was a wrong choice. You are the only possible president for the occasion and the year. I

cannot be president if the policy of the Congress is what might be described as that of Malaviyaji. Even now if you agree there is a possible course which does not necessitate a meeting of the A.I.C.C. A circular might be sent round to A.I.C.C. members saying that you are agreeable to accepting the presidentship. I would beg of them to excuse me. This would be a formal matter as of course all the members, or nearly all, would welcome your decison with joy.

An alternative course is that I should declare that in view of the circumstances, and also in view of the difficulty of choosing another president now, I shall not retire now but immediately after the Congress is over. I shall act as the chairman and the Congress can decide what it likes regardless of me.

One of these two courses seems to me to be necessary if I am to retain my physical and mental health.

As I wrote to you from Delhi I am not issuing any public statement. What others say or do not say does not worry me very much. But I must be at peace with myself.

Yours affectionately,
JAWAHARLAL

[PS.]

I am sending a copy of this letter to Father. I feel a little lighter after writing this letter. I am afraid it will trouble you a little and I do not want to do so. I feel half inclined not to send it to you just yet but to wait for your arrival here. Ten days more will no doubt lessen my agitation and give me a better perspective. But it is better that you should know how my mind has been working.

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 74-5

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM VALLABHBHAI PATEL[1]

Personal

SARDARGRIHA,
BOMBAY,
November 11, 1929

PUJYA BAPUJI,

I have been here for the last two days. Vithalbhai is also here. I sent you a wire after having had a long talk with Mr. Jinnah.

The Working Committee is meeting on the 16th. We wish its final resolution does not result in a complete break. Ultimately, it is for us to do what we like. But before it is finally decided to close the door upon all future negotiations or before the original Delhi statement is amended, it would be fair

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Vithalbhai Patel", p. 142.

to invite to a meeting all those who have signed it. Before any resolution is passed, yourself, Jinnah, Motilalji, Vithalbhai and Sapru should confer together or Jinnah and Vithalbhai should be given an opportunity to discuss the matter with you personally. There would be no problem if the Working Committee is to adhere to the Delhi manifesto. But in view of the subsequent debate in Parliament, if we choose to break off with the Government, I see no harm in postponing such a decision for a few days. Besides, it will be proper that another opportunity of looking at the manifesto is given to those who have signed it. Mr. Jinnah and Vithalbhai wish to discuss a few things with you some time.

According to Mr. Jinnah, the Conference can be summoned in July. If an announcement is made about the personnel and general amnesty to our liking, can this be regarded as evidence of a change of heart? Another important matter would remain to be settled, namely, the Government should announce before we decide to attend the Conference that it has to frame a scheme for Dominion Status. This needs to be discussed with you since there could be no two opinions that under the present circumstances no government would make any such announcement. Mr. Jinnah wishes also to know in what other manner we can be reassured. He for one thinks that if these three things are settled, we get practically everything that we seek; and in that case, he is prepared to do whatever he can in respect of the fourth matter. He is quite convinced of the good faith of the Labour Government as well as the Viceroy, and thinks that this opportunity should on no account be missed. He is prepared to play his part to the best of his ability.

We shall decide the venue when I have your reply to my wire.

Vandemataram from
VALLABHBHAI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 15568

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM DR. M. A. ANSARI[1]

JAORA,
February 13, 1930

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I wrote to you from Delhi last Monday. The letter was dictated in a hurry in a few moments snatched during a very strenuous day. It naturally did not express all that I wanted to tell you. Further, I was hoping I would be able to get away from here in time to be with you on the 14th or the 15th. I find, however, to my disappointment, that my patient here is suffering from

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. M. A. Ansari", pp. 510-1.

peritonitis and is so very ill that I cannot even mention my leaving her. Indeed, it does not seem possible to get away from here for another week or ten days. I am, therefore, writing to you as the next best thing to my being with you in person at such a critical moment. I feel I owe it to Pt. Jawaharlal, Pt. Motilal, yourself, and your colleagues in the Working Committee, who have got the reins of the Congress in their hands and are leading the country, to tell you frankly what I feel about your policy and programme in relation to the present situation in the country. I would try to be as brief as possible, but you would excuse me if this letter becomes somewhat long in spite of my efforts to curtail it.

Hindu-Muslim unity is not only one of the basic items in our programme, but according to my firm belief and conviction, *the one and only* basic thing. I would have liked to trace the whole history of our efforts to achieve unity, but I would take up the most recent history, viz., from autumn of the year 1927. You would remember how the Unity Conference at Simla failed in spite of every effort made there. I felt after its failure that it was not possible to have agreement between extreme communal groups, but that it was feasible to have a workable agreement between Nationalist Hindus and Nationalist Mussalmans. I, therefore, urged Srinivasa Iyengar, the then President of the Congress, to convene another Peace Conference at Calcutta under the aegis of the Congress, and in more suitable surroundings than the Simla Conference. The Calcutta Conference brought about an understanding between the Congress and the Mussalmans of all shades of opinion, as evidenced by the warm welcome given to the Pact even by such Mussalmans as Sir Mohd. Shafi, Sir Zulfiqar Ali, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and many others. This Pact, with certain modifications suggested by you, was passed by the Madras Congress and was agreed to by Pt. Malaviya. I have not the slightest doubt that if we had stuck to it we would have gradually overcome the opposition of the Hindu Mahasabha, and Hindu-Muslim unity would have been an accomplished fact by now. But, we wanted to be more just and fair and in our effort to do justice and bring greater harmony and unity in the shape of the Nehru Constitution, I am afraid we lost at Lucknow and Calcutta what we had gained at Madras. The Mussalmans were the first to revolt against the Nehru Report at Lucknow, followed closely by the Sikhs. But, at the Calcutta Convention, it was the Hindu Mahasabha which completely did the work of destruction. I cannot help expressing that the speech made by Mr. Jayakar and subsequently the attitude in the Committee taken by Pt. Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, and Hindu Mahasabha friends destroyed all chances of understanding. Prof. Jatindra Lal Bannerji's motion for the reservation of seats for 45 per cent Hindu minority in the Bengal which was carried in the Convention and only withdrawn at my special appeal and request was a painful revelation. Pt. Motilal's cold reception to Mr. Jinnah, whom I had succeeded after a great deal of effort in persuading to come and see Panditji at his house, was also a great disappointment. After that, the com-

munalist Mussalmans got the chance and the Muslim attitude hardened [as] shown by the absurd resolution passed at the All-Parties' Muslim Conference at Delhi and subsequently the fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah.

The year 1929, in spite of the great influence and efforts of Panditji, yourself and Pt. Jawaharlal, did not see the constructive programme advance and the quota fixed in May last year was not completed by most of the Congress Committees. The Sikh situation was, in the mean time, going from bad to worse.

In such circumstances when I read the advance copy of the Viceroy's statement of November 1st,[1] I considered it a godsend (as the telephonic message sent by me to Panditji and received by Jawaharlal would bear out). I, at once, took Vallabhbhai with me and met you at Meerut. We found you less enthusiastic, more cautious, but on the whole, taking a very favourable view of the announcement. At the Conference held in Delhi on November 1st, you would remember I pressed for certain parts of Dr. Sapru's statement to be embodied in yours. The reason was that I found myself in agreement with him. I was representing not only my own personal views, but, those of a group consisting of Messrs Khaliquzzaman, Tasadduq Ahmed Sherwani, Rafi [Ahmed] Kidwai, Dr. Mahmud, and a few others. At Lahore, I expressed the same views in the Working Committee. When asked by Panditji, to give my opinion on the 22nd of last December in Delhi, I told him that owing to our internal dissensions, unpreparedness and weakness, I would advise him not to let the Conference with the Viceroy break up, but to utilize it to the fullest advantage. Panditji characterized my observations as based on weakness. I repudiated the charge, but our conversation ended. When I heard that the Conference between you and the Viceroy had ended without any agreement, I was disappointed. At the meeting of the Working Committee held in Lahore last December and on one or two subsequent occasions, I expressed similar views but with the exception of Mrs. Naidu, I did not find support. I have felt that the situation has been mishandled both by the Viceroy and our own representatives. The Viceroy was obviously very much shaken by the bomb outrage, and was not in his normal frame of mind. For I do not see how even with the limited powers given to him he could have failed to give you the necessary assurance for a scheme of Dominion Status to be the basis of discussion at the Round Table Conference. I cannot, for the life of me, imagine after reading and re-reading the statements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, what else could be the basis of discussions at the Round Table Conference if not a scheme of Dominion Status. It may be a very incomplete scheme which would form the basis; even our own scheme presented in the Nehru Constitution was not a scheme of complete Dominion Status. The final

[1] *Vide* pp. 512-5; the statement was issued on October 31, 1929.

decisions would be matters for adjustments, understandings and bargains, as it is bound to be at any time. But, at any rate, it would have given us the chance of placing the demand of India before the British Cabinet and the British people and, I am sure, in spite of our differences on communal matters, they would have been obliged to concede our demand of Dominion Constitution to a very great extent. This has been my view all along and is my view today.

I did not feel that it would be in the interest of the Congress [for me] to resign from the Working Committee at Lahore and express my views in the All-India Congress Committee or in the open Congress. I felt that there were already sufficient divisions in the Congress and one more division would not have improved the situation. Out of loyalty to the Congress and my personal devotion to you, Pt. Motilal and Jawaharlal, I kept quiet. But I deliberately refused the General Secretaryship and the membership of the Working Committee, and took the risk of being misunderstood rather than say or do anything to injure the Congress. At the same time, not being in sympathy with the policy and programme of the Congress, I could not be one of its executive. The same reason led me to resign from the Presidentship of the Provincial Congress Committee of Delhi, and membership of the Provincial Executive. Indeed, the only thing possible for me and those who think like me was to drop out of the Congress Executive. And whilst not opposing the policy and programme of the Congress or doing anything to injure it by our actions or words, to remain as one of its camp followers. So far as I am aware, Mrs. Naidu, Rangaswami Iyengar, Pt. Harkaran Nath Misra, Choudhary Khaliquzzaman, R. A. Kidwai, T. A. K. Sherwani and a few other leading Congressmen (whose names I may not mention) hold similar views.

You are taking a great responsibility on yourself by declaring war against the Government today. The situation today is quite the reverse of what it was in 1920, when you started the campaign of non-co-operation. I would briefly compare the situation in a comparative table as under; of course, it is not complete, but I am giving only the salient features:

1920	1930
(1) Great dissatisfaction against the Government, owing to war-time promises not having been kept. Dissatisfaction against Rowlatt Act, Martial Law, and Khilafat wrongs.	(1) Large number of people believe in the goodwill of Labour Government and sincerity of the Viceroy, rightly or wrongly.
(2) Highest water-mark reached in Hindu-Muslim unity.	(2) Lowest water-mark reached in Hindu-Muslim unity.
(3) Sikhs entirely with the Congress,	(3) Sikhs almost entirely against the Congress.

(4) Complete unity inside the Congress. Great enthusiasm amongst the workers and the rank and file.	(4) Disunity in the Congress (Revolt against its mandate), diversity of purpose, complete lack of enthusiasm amongst the workers. Lukewarmness among the rank and file.
(5) Complete non-violent atmosphere and yet breaking of violence in Chauri Chaura.	(5) Obvious existence of violence, even large number of leading Congressmen believing in it and the certainty of violence breaking out.

Like Harishchandra you seem to be bent on keeping the word given by you at Calcutta, irrespective of consequences. I feel as if you are deliberately offering yourself as a sacrifice. I earnestly submit to you for your consideration that to the demand made at Calcutta there has been a response. It is not satisfactory from our point of view. But, it is all that the Government can make, and certainly, it cannot be said that there has been no response. I, therefore, urge that the question of keeping your word in case of no response to the Calcutta offer does not arise and, therefore, the idea of keeping your word at all costs is not morally justifiable and certainly it is not politically expedient.

I hope I have made my position quite clear to you. Holding the views stated above and feeling that the real test of our preparedness lies more in the results achieved with regard to the enrolment of members and volunteers, collections of funds, and above all, in the achievement of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity rather than the demonstrations held all over the country on the Independence Day, it is my conviction that the country is not the least ready for starting a campaign of civil disobedience in any shape or form, and it would do an incalculable damage should you decide to embark on such a campaign now or in the near future. I would, therefore, earnestly urge you and the members of the Working Committee to desist from doing so. I believe, that if you could see the wisdom of passing a resolution asking the Congress organizations for intensive preparation including H.M.S. understanding, but, in the mean time, postponing the campaign of civil disobedience for the present, until you find yourself ready and obliged to start civil disobedience, it would meet the present situation much better and give a chance to those countrymen of ours who are thinking of participation in the London Round Table Conference.

I wish you to share this letter with Pt. Jawaharlal and Pt. Motilal Nehru. I hope this would find you in the best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Ansari

Ansari Papers. Courtesy: Jamia Millia Library

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CHRONOLOGY

(October 1929–February 1930)

October 16: Gandhiji continued his U.P. tour, collecting funds for Lala Lajpat Rai Memorial, U.P. National Service and khadi. At Dehra Dun laid the foundation-stone of the Shraddhanand Abala Ashram; spoke at meetings of students, women, and untouchables.

October 17: On way to Mussoorie received address composed in Sanskrit by girls at Kanya Gurukul; took part in spinning competition along with Kasturba and Mirabehn; at Rajpur unveiled portrait of Keshav Dev Shastri and planted a tree in his memory.

October 18: At Mussoorie addressed European Municipal councillors.

October 19 to 23: At Mussoorie.

October 24: At Mussoorie spoke at public meeting; urged *Antyajas* to bestir themselves and see to it that the Hindu temple at Mussoorie was made accessible to them.

October 25: At Saharanpur.

October 26: At Muzaffarnagar.

October 27: At Meerut met "Meerut Conspiracy Case" prisoners; spoke at public meeting.

October 28: Visited Acharya Kripalani's ashram; spoke at Meerut College.

October 29-30: At Asaura.

October 31: At Meerut.
Viceroy announced Round Table Conference to be convened after Simon Commission submitted its report.

November 1: Gandhiji arrived in Delhi; leaders met at Vithalbhai Patel's house to prepare drafts of joint statement; Gandhiji emphasized that Viceroy's offer could not be accepted without fulfilment of conditions.

November 2: Conference of prominent leaders at Delhi unanimously issued statement in reply to Viceroy's offer of Round Table Conference.

Gandhiji spoke at the Town Hall; received addresses from Congress Committee, Mazdur Sabha and a purse from citizens.

November 3: Camped at Khurja.

November 4: Arrived in Aligarh; at night addressed students of Aligarh Muslim University and spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity.

November 5: At Aligarh; in afternoon spoke at women's meeting and public meeting.
House of Lords debated Viceregal announcement; most members questioned its propriety.

November 6: Gandhiji arrived at Mathura.

November 7: At Brindaban.
House of Commons debated Viceregal announcement.

November 8: Gandhiji reached Hathras.

November 9: In Etah district.

November 10: In Badaun district.

November 11: In Shahjahanpur district; visited American Methodist Mission Girls' School for suppressed classes.

November 12: In Pilibhit district.

November 13: In Sitapur district; visited Lucknow *en route* to Rai Bareli.

November 14: In Rai Bareli district. Wrote to A. Fenner Brockway that some absolute guarantees from British Government were necessary.

November 15: Reached Allahabad.

November 16: At Allahabad; in morning visited Dr. Higginbottom's experimental farm and agricultural institute, Mrs. Higginbottom's home for children of lepers, leper asylum conducted by them, Ewing College, Crosthwaite Girls School, Kayastha Pathashala and villages around Allahabad.

November 17: First death anniversary of Lala Lajpat Rai.
Gandhiji spoke at meeting of students and staff of Allahabad University, Municipal Committee meeting and women's meeting where Indira Nehru presented him cheque for over Rs. 8,000; also spoke at public meeting presided over by Motilal Nehru.

November 18: Conference of representative political leaders held at Allahabad adopted resolution to stand by Delhi manifesto and hoped British Government would fully respond.

After midnight Congress Working Committee unanimously passed resolution to await response from British Government.

November 19: Gandhiji visited Mirzapur and Chunar.

November 20: In Fatehpur district.

November 21: In Banda district; left for Kulapahar.

November 22: In Hamirpur district.

November 23: In Jhansi and Jalaon districts.

November 24: At Etawah; completed U.P. tour.

November 25: Left for Ahmedabad.

November 26: At Sabarmati executed Navajivan Trust Deed.

November 30: Had discussion with Jinnah and Vithalbhai Patel at Sabarmati.

December 7: Reached Wardha in morning; appealed to Ahmedabad labourers to accept arbitrator's award though it had fallen short of their demands.

December 19: At Wardha.

December 20: Viceroy telegraphed Gandhiji to meet him along with Motilal Nehru, T. B. Sapru, Vithalbhai Patel and Jinnah on 23rd December afternoon. Gandhiji accepted invitation.

December 21: Left for Delhi; in letter to Mathuradas Trikumji wrote: "I am not going there with any hopes."

December 22: The Congress Exhibition at Lahore opened by Dr. P. C. Roy.

December 23: Attempt was made to blow up Viceroy's special train near New Delhi. Gandhiji reached Delhi; met Viceroy.

December 24: Reached Lahore; spoke at public meeting; opened Lajpat Rai Memorial Hall; presided over All-India Suppressed Classes Conference.

December 25: Laid foundation-stone of Lala Lajpat Rai's statue in Golbag (Lahore).

December 26: Congress Working Committee circulated among members draft resolutions for Congress prepared by Gandhiji in consultation with Motilal Nehru and others.

December 27: A.I.C.C. meeting commenced at Lahore and continued for next three days. All-India Hindustani Seva Dal Conference was held at Lahore under presidentship of

Srinivasa Iyengar. Gandhiji held discussions with Sikh leaders; moved independence resolution at Subjects Committee Meeting.

December 29: Indian National Congress session began; Jawaharlal Nehru in presidential address advocated complete independence, immediate boycott of legislatures and organization of peaceful mass movement for no-tax campaign. Gandhiji replied to debate on independence resolution.

December 30: All-India Students' Convention held at Lahore; Madan Mohan Malaviya presided.
Sikh Conference held at Lahore.
Gandhiji's resolutions on autonomy to committees for foreign-cloth boycott, for anti-untouchability, for prohibition and on reduction in number of delegates were lost at Subjects Committee meeting.

December 31: Gandhiji's resolutions on bomb outrage and Complete Independence adopted at open session.

1930

January 1: At Subjects Committee meeting Gandhiji moved resolution on national debts which stated that financial burdens inherited by free India would be subject to investigation by independent tribunal.
Gave special interview to Press before leaving Lahore.

January 2: Reached Delhi. Working Committee fixed 26th January as Independence Day.

January 4: Earl Russell, Under-Secretary of State for India in speech, said India's Dominion Status would not be like that of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Mazhar-ul-Haq died.

January 11: Gandhiji, in speech at Gujarat Vidyapith Convocation, said Earl Russell's statement on India's Dominion Status meant change to gold chains from iron ones.

January 13: Spoke at National Educational Conference.

January 18: Rabindranath Tagore visited Sabarmati Ashram and had discussions with Gandhiji.

January 22: Gandhiji gave interview to *Daily Express* about his future plan regarding civil disobedience movement.

January 25: Viceroy in statement in Legislative Assembly said Round Table Conference would help prepare guidelines on which Government could prepare draft proposals regarding

Dominion Status for consideration of Parliament; Viceroy disapproved of financial resolution of Congress.

January 26: Pledge of Independence taken all over India.

February 7: Viceroy spoke at Lucknow Durbar.

February 15: Congress Working Committee at Ahmedabad authorized Gandhiji and those who believed in non-violence as an article of faith to launch civil disobedience "as and when they desire and to the extent they decide".
Gandhiji spoke at prayer meeting, Sabarmati, advising Ashram inmates to prepare themselves for the ensuing fight.

February 19: All-India Congress Committee adopted civil disobedience programme.

February 27: In article "When I am Arrested" Gandhiji wrote: "Not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort to submit any longer to the existing slavery."

February 28: In letter to G. D. Birla, wrote: "I have little hope of remaining out of jail by the end of March."

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ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
2	Footnote 2	Insipid	Dull
80	Footnote 2, line 5	P. Iyre	P. Iyer
127, 252, 266	Title	*MATHURADAS P. GANDHI*	*MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM*
160	Line 5	typographical and others	typographical and other
206	Line 10 from bottom	It is somewhat	It is a somewhat
234	Footnote 1, lines 2-3	"Note to the Reginald Reynolds"	"Note to Reginald Reynolds"
234	Footnote 3	Aspirant of *moksha*	Aspirant for *moksha*